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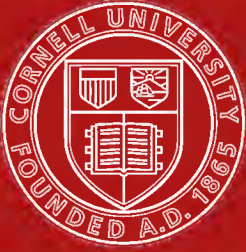
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LETTERS OF DENNYS DE BERDT

1757-1770

EDITED BY
ALBERT MATTHEWS



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W. H. B. 1800

Jerrys De Bont

*Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from the original in the possession of
the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*

LETTERS OF DENNYS DE BERDT
1757-1770

EDITED BY
ALBERT MATTHEWS

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LETTERS OF DENNYS DE BERDT

1757-1770

The Library of Congress recently acquired, through the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gherardi Davis of New York, the Letter Book of Dennys De Berdt, 1765-1770. Our associate Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, kindly allowed this to be copied; and Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin — a Corresponding Member of the Society and Chief Assistant Librarian of the Library of Congress — offered it for publication in our Transactions. On his behalf I take pleasure in communicating it to-day. In the course of preparing the Letter Book for the press, I found that there were in the Massachusetts Archives, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the Dartmouth College Library, in the library of the Earl of Dartmouth, and elsewhere, several letters and documents not contained in the Letter Book itself. These have been copied, and they are printed after the Letter Book under the heading "Additional Letters, 1757-1770."

The Letter Book is an ordinary, square quarto blank book, higher than it is wide, and contains 134 pages. It was found a year ago by Mr. Davis among some old papers in the garret of the house at Great Neck, New York, of his father-in-law Mr. John A. King, a grandson of Rufus King. Mr. Davis does not know how the book came into the possession of Mr. King. One cover was torn off, the letters were all copies, and they were for the most part without signatures. Hence Mr. Davis was at a loss to know by whom the

letters were written, but on showing the volume last spring to Mr. Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the writer was identified as Dennys De Berdt.

The figure of De Berdt, agent in London of the Massachusetts House of Representatives from November, 1765, to his death in April, 1770, has, both in his private and in his public capacity, hitherto been a shadowy one. In a letter written from Philadelphia in 1773 by De Berdt's widow to her son Dennis, she says:

I will give my dear Dennis the best account I can of his dear father's family.

The original of them came from Ipres (or Ypres) in Flanders. They left that country for the sake of religion, where they were persecuted by Duke Alva. They left behind them a good estate; and brought with them only some money and jewels, which was by stealth. I have often heard your dear father mention the circumstances. . . . The first place they settled was in Colchester. . . . Your grandfather was apprentice to a merchant, one Mr. De Berdt, a cousin, but he left out the De, and signed his name Berdt; some of the family signed their names Bert, which has made great confusion in the families, though they were all of the same family. Your grandfather always kept to the original name De Berdt: . . . I forgot to tell you your grandfather's name was John;¹

¹ On December 23, 1712, Nicho. Zinzan married "Edward Stables of Lincoln's Inn and Susanna De Berdt of Wandsworth in Surrey" (Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers, xxxii. 53).

On April 29, 1729, took place the marriage of "John de Berdt of St Andrew, Holborn, Midx., B., and Jane Greer of St Gyles in the fields, Midx., S." (Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers, xxxix. 363).

The Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1731, records the death of "*John de Berdt, of Battersea, Esq; Grandson to the late Sir John Fleet, and Son-in-Law to Edward Staples, Esq; Clerk to the H. of Commons*" (i. 354). The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Isham, 207) of John De Berdt of Battersea, County Surrey, dated August 5 and proved August 19, 1731, contains these items: "I bequeath all my freehold lands & tenements & all my copyhold & leasehold estates in Battersea, Wimbledon & Wandsworth, co. Surrey, to my wife Jane De Berdt & her heirs for ever. To my sister in law, M^{rs} Amy Greere, £20. A gold ring to each of my wife's brothers & sisters. Residuary legatee & executrix, my said wife."

The Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1731, notes the death on the 12th of "*Edward Stables, Esq; Clerk of the House of Commons, at Wandsworth*" (i. 540). Unless there was a double marriage between the Stables and the De Berdt families, it would seem as if this John De Berdt must have been the brother-in-law, not the son-in-law, of Edward Stables.

if you look into the Dutch Bible you will find his name there. Some of their names are engraven in the Dutch church,¹ — if you were to inquire there, perhaps you might get some information in their church books. . . . I wish you success if it is good for you to have the estate; if not, I do not.²

Dennys De Berdt was born in or about 1694. "The fragments of his private correspondence in my possession," writes his great-grandson William B. Reed, "show him to have been a man of a very devotional turn of mind, singularly so, at a time of very loose religious opinions and practice. He was a Dissenter."³

The following extracts from the Massachusetts House Journals give the story of De Berdt's appointment as agent. Under date of November 5, 1765, we read:

Choice of a special Agent.

The House according to the Order of the Day, entred into the Consideration of the Choice of a special Agent, and *Resolved* unanimously, That this House only proceed to the Choice of such an Agent.

Committee to sort & count the Votes.

Ordered, That Mr. *Foster* of *Plymouth*, Judge *Russell*, and Mr. *Otis*, be a Committee to sort and count the Votes for a special Agent. Who performing that Service, Reported that *Dennis De Berdt*, Esq; was chosen.

Ordered, That Mr. Speaker, Mr. *Otis*, Mr. *Adams*, Mr. *Dexter*, and Col. *Brown* be a Committee to prepare Instructions for the said Agent and, Report (p. 167).

On the next day, November 6th, it was —

Committee to acquaint Mr. *De Berdt* of the Choice the House have made of him.

Ordered, That Col. *Clap*, Mr. *Saunders*, and Mr. *Dexter*, be a Committee to draw up a proper Vote to acquaint Mr. *De Berdt*, of the Choice the House have made of him to be a special Agent, &c. and Report (p. 175).

And on November 7th we read:

Dennis De Berdt Esq; chosen special Agent.

The House being informed of the Integrity and Ability of *Dennis De Berdt*, Esq; made choice of him to be

¹ In Austin Friars, London.

² William B. Reed, *Life of Esther De Berdt*, afterwards *Esther Reed*, pp. 188-191. This book was privately printed in 1853.

³ William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, i. 37 note. This work was published in 1847.

special Agent for this House to solicit and pursue the several Petitions which the late General Congress of the *British Colonies at New-York* agreed on to be presented to His Majesty, and each House of Parliament (p. 176).

The fact of De Berdt's selection for the agency proves that he must have been well informed on, and deeply interested in, American affairs; but, singularly enough, I have been able to find scarcely an allusion to him on this side of the water previous to his appointment as agent. Writing to De Berdt on December 20, 1765, a committee of the House said:

The House was so fully informed of your Ability and Inclination to serve the Province, that your Election was soon determined by a very great Majority. We hope you will have receiv'd the advice of your Appointment before this comes to Hand, and we may assure you that your Acceptance of the Trust, will give general Satisfaction to the good People here.¹

And in his first letter to De Berdt, dated January 6, 1767, Samuel Dexter said:

As I am one who have for many years tho't you a sincere friend of the American Colonies, and to this in particular, wished for your being chosen Agent before it took Place, and when your choice was under consideration of the House of Representatives, exerted myself to promote it, in preference to all other Candidates, so I have ever since desired to enjoy a correspondence with you on Public Matters. With this disposition and these sentiments, I shall make no apology for troubling you at this time.²

There is, however, a document which shows that De Berdt's attention had been directed to the American colonies at least as early as 1758. On May 8 of that year the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterwards President of the College of New Jersey, preached in Virginia

¹ Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 62.

² Massachusetts Papers, pp. 22-23. This volume, otherwise called Papers relating to Public Events in Massachusetts preceding the American Revolution, was printed for the Seventy-Six Society at Philadelphia in 1856. The documents printed in it originally belonged to the late Dr. Alfred Langdon Elwyn, but were by him given to the Massachusetts Historical Society on January 10, 1878.

a sermon called *The Curse of Cowardice*. The manuscript of this sermon was sent by Davies to De Berdt, who procured its publication in London the same year and wrote for it a dedication. As this has not, so far as I am aware, been alluded to in any previous account of De Berdt, I give it here in full. It is addressed "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax, First Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, And one of the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c. &c.," and reads as follows:

MY LORD,

AS the following Pages contain the *Genuine Sentiments* of a Heart full of Zeal for the Honour of His Majesty King *GEORGE*, and a just *Indignation* against a base, cowardly Neglect, to defend the Civil and Religious Liberties of *British America*, they cannot be unacceptable to Your Lordship.

This Discourse having a direct Tendency to raise a *Noble Spirit* among the Inhabitants of the *Western World*, whose Territories have been first insidiously curtailed, and then openly *attacked* by the perfidious, and restless Disturber of the Peace both of *Europe* and *America*, the Circulating thereof must necessarily be a Matter of no small Importance.

Here Courage is set upon its *proper Basis*, which will produce more solid, steady, and persevering Vigour, than any Methods that are or can be taken, merely to *inflame* the *Passions*, for that is only to intoxicate Men with Rage, and temporary Phrensy.

The Author's Friendship sent the Manuscript cross the Atlantick to my Hands; and having read it, I thought it would be criminal to conceal such *generous Principles*, and *powerful Motives* to His Majesty's Service, from the Publick, either in *England* or *America*.

And should You, my Lord, think fit to introduce this *American* Composition to His Majesty's View, must it not give Him a real Satisfaction, to see the grateful Apprehension the Inhabitants of that Country have of His *paternal Care*, and that there is among them a Spirit of *undissembled Loyalty* to His Person, and most *ardent Zeal* in His Service, not altogether unworthy of His Royal Regard?

Your Lordship's just sense of the Utility and Importance of the *British Colonies* in *America*, and constant *Watchfulness* over them, as myself and all others that have Connections there know; have gain'd You, SIR, the universal Esteem of the Inhabitants of that extensive and now populous Continent.

Permit me then with the most *profound Respect* to dedicate to your

Lordship, what I apprehend is so well calculated to promote His Majesty's Service, and the vigorous Defence of His Dominions in general: And if spreading these Sentiments in the Country which gave them Birth, should have that happy Effect, I shall esteem it an *additional Honour* to that of being permitted to subscribe myself,

Your LORDSHIP'S

*Most devoted,
and Obedient*

Humble Servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

But the first allusions I find to De Berdt are in connection with the early history of Dartmouth College. This institution, it will be remembered, was, before the adoption of its present name and its removal in 1770 to Hanover, New Hampshire; established at Lebanon, Connecticut, and was known as the Indian Charity School, under the charge of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock. In one of the numerous pamphlets relating to the school is the following:

Those who are disposed to join in promoting a Design so truly humane and pious, are desired to leave their DONATIONS with the following Persons, to be by them placed under Improvement till drawn for by the Reverend Mr *Wheelock*. . . . DENNIS DE BERDT, Esq; Merchant, in *Artillery-Court, Chiswell-street*.²

From the letters now printed it appears that Wheelock was introduced to De Berdt through the Rev. George Whitefield, and that De Berdt took an active and important part in the unsuccessful endeavor to obtain a charter in England for Wheelock's school.

As time went on, some dissatisfaction was expressed with De Berdt in the matter of the Massachusetts agency, but the precise reasons are obscure. In a letter to some unknown person dated Charlestown, February 7, 1769, Richard Cary wrote:

Mr Cushing tells me he has wrote perticularly to Mr De Berdt, w^{ch} lately went, I refer you to it, he, & Mr Otis, Adams &c^t dined with me a

¹ The Curse of Cowardice: A Sermon preached To the Militia of Hanover County, in Virginia, at A General Muster, May 8, 1758. With a View to raise a Company for Captain Samuel Meredith. . . . London: . . . MDCCLVIII.

² Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity-School, In Lebanon in Connecticut, in New-England, London, MDCCLXVI, p. 13.

few days ago, the Affairs of the Agency shall engage my Attention. I hear their are Schemes & plans, going forward I hope none will succeed, against our Aged Worthy Friend, whose Labours seems to be more Abundant at this important Crisis, I rejoice to hear his Health is continued.¹

In spite of opposition, De Berdt retained his position until his death. Curiously enough, the exact date of his death has never hitherto been given with accuracy. On Tuesday, April 10, 1770, the Rev. John Stafford, minister of the Independent Church in Broad Street, London, wrote to Jeremy Belknap: "Mr Dennis De Bert, my near neighbour, died last Tuesday morning. But I don't imagine the agency of the Colonies w^{ch} was in his hands can come into worse, as he was a man of no influence, being poor, & I suppose will prove insolvent."² The report, however, was premature, as De Berdt was living at the time this letter was written. Elsewhere De Berdt is stated to have died April 18,³ or even as late as May.⁴ From the last letter in the Letter Book, written by Dennis De Berdt the younger,⁵ we learn that De Berdt died on Wednesday, April 11. In

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter is printed in full, though not with verbal accuracy, in, *Massachusetts Papers*, pp. 113-115. The following passage is from the *Massachusetts House Journals* of July 13, 1769:

Upon a Motion made, *Ordered*, That Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *Gardner* of *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Turner*, be a Committee to count and sort the Votes of this House for an Agent of the Province. . . .

The House according to Order, proceeded to bring in their Votes for an Agent, and upon sorting and counting the Votes, it appeared that DENNYS DE BERDT, Esq; of *London*, was chosen, by a great Majority (p. 72).

See also *House Journals*, July 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 1769 (pp. 49, 52, 53, 56, 64, 67); 6 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, ix. 149-150, 160.

² Belknap Papers, iii. 41. The reasons for De Berdt's financial difficulties are given by Joseph Reed in a letter dated May 7, 1770 (*Life of Esther De Berdt*, pp. 146-148). In his *Life of James Otis* (1883), Tudor is severe on De Berdt: see pp. 283 note, 292, 309, 311, 323-325, 329-330. On the other hand, as the extracts quoted in the text show, De Berdt was uniformly spoken of with respect and even affection by his contemporaries on this side of the water. In a letter to Sayre dated November 23, 1770, Samuel Adams alluded to "our worthy Friend Mr De Berdt" (*Writings*, ii. 66).

³ *London magazines*; *Life of Esther De Berdt*, p. 144 note.

⁴ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vi. 53.

⁵ The elder De Berdt always spelled his christian name Dennys, while the younger De Berdt always spelled his christian name Dennis.

a London newspaper was printed this notice: "Thursday, April 19. LONDON. Yesterday s'ennight died, at his house in Chiswell-street, Dennis De Berdt, Esq; Agent for New-York and Massachusetts Bay."¹ The news found its way into the Boston newspapers early in June, as appears from the following notices:

In the latest English Prints received by Captain Duckett, among the Deaths of a number of Persons is mentioned *Dennis De Berdt, Esq;* Agent for the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, and Lower Counties of Delaware in Pennsylvania: A Gentleman who had always proved himself a faithful and sincere Friend to the Interest of America, his Death at this Time must therefore be a great Loss to the Colonies.²

Extract of a Letter from London, dated April 13.

*"On Wednesday last died our worthy and respectable Friend Mr. DE BERDT, after a short Illness, which arose rather from a universal Decay, than from any other Cause. — He was too great a Character for me to describe. He possessed every good Quality which makes human Nature great and amiable." Mr. Dennis Deberdt was in the 77th Year of his Age. — He had been Agent for the House of Representatives of this Province several Years past.*³

The statement found (as above) in the English magazines and newspapers that De Berdt was agent for New York is apparently a mistake, though he had been agent for Delaware — or, as it was then called, the three Lower Counties (New Castle, Kent, and Sussex) on Delaware. Writing to her future husband on September 12, 1766, De Berdt's daughter said:

I suppose you must have heard of the honor the Lower Counties of Delaware have done my father, of a piece of plate. He has the satisfaction of having deserved it. They have made him their agent to deliver an address of thanks to his Majesty. I am afraid, if it is continued, it is very inconsiderable, and would be an Agency hardly worthy of you. Pray, had they ever an agent before?⁴

¹ London Chronicle, April 17–19, 1770, xxvii. 374.

² Boston Evening Post, June 4, 1770, p. 4/2.

³ Boston News-Letter, June 7, 1770, p. 2/2. De Berdt's death is also mentioned, but without characterization, in the Boston Gazette, June 4, p. 1/2; Boston Post Boy, June 4, p. 4/2; Boston Chronicle, May 31–June 4, iii. 179/2.

⁴ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 99.

This piece of silver plate was in 1853 in the possession of Mr. D. De Berdt Hovell of Lower Clapton, Middlesex, England, and bore the following inscription:¹

To
DENNIS DE BERDT, ESQUIRE,
In grateful memory of his faithful services exerted successfully
in obtaining the repeal of the American Stamp Act,
This Plate is presented, by the Honble. House of Assembly,
of the Lower Counties on Delaware.
A.D. 1766.

In Massachusetts, De Berdt appears to have fared somewhat differently. On June 13, 1766, the House —

Committee to prepare a Letter of Thanks to Dennis De Berdt, Esq.

Ordered, That Mr. Otis, Col. Brown, and Mr. Hancock, be a Committee to prepare a Letter of Thanks to *Dennis De Berdt*, Esq; for his Assiduity and Faithfulness in endeavouring to obtain a Repeal of the Stamp-Act.²

And under date of February 1, 1768, we read:

Report of the Committee on the Services of D. De Berdt, Esq.

The Committee appointed to consider the Services of *Dennys De Berdt*, Esq; report, That he was chosen special Agent by the House of Representatives Nov. 4, 1765, and has been improved in the Service of this Province ever since: That he was assiduous in his endeavour to obtain a Repeal of the Stamp-Act: And that during the whole Time in which he has been in the Service of the Province, he acted with great Diligence and Fidelity, and has discovered a real Concern for the Interest of *America*, and of this Province in particular. Read and accepted. . . .

The House taking into Consideration the Services of *Dennys De Berdt*, Esq; Agent for this Province, at the Court of *Great Britain*.

Grant to D. De Berdt, Esq;

Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to *Dennys De Berdt*, Esq; the Sum of *six Hundred Pounds Sterling*, in full for the Services he performed for this Province at the Court of *Great-*

¹ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 18.

² House Journals, p. 81.

Britain, from *Nov. 1765*, to *Nov. 1767*; and that the Treasurer be and hereby is directed to purchase a Bill per Exchange, and remit the same to *Dennys De Berdt*, Esq; accordingly.

Sent up for Concurrence.¹

But in spite of the various grants made by the Legislature, De Berdt seems seldom to have obtained the money, and it was not until 1774 that a settlement was made in full with his son Dennis.² It is true that his portrait now hangs in the Council Chamber of the State House at Boston; but it was placed there not, as William B. Reed stated in 1853, "in commemoration of the gratitude of Massachusetts," but as the gift of De Berdt's intimate friend and ardent admirer, Richard Cary. Mr. Cary's letter of presentation is as follows:

¹ House Journals, p. 143.

² For references to grants, and other allusions, to De Berdt, see Massachusetts House Journals, 1765, November 5, 6, 7, pp. 167, 173, 175, 176; 1766, February 12, 19, 20, pp. 268, 291, 297; 1766, May 29, June 13, 19, 20, 28, November 7, 12, December 3, 4, 6, 9, pp. 9, 81, 104, 106, 138, 180, 190, 191, 205, 206, 213, 219; 1767, February 7, March 3, 16, 17, 19, pp. 259, 350, 393-404, 409, 412; 1767, May 29, June 9, 11, 17, December 30, pp. 10, 33, 34, 40, 60-61, 88; 1768, January 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 26, February 1, 12, 20, pp. 102, 104, 107, 108, 109, 116, 135, 142, 143, 161, 183, 184, App. pp. 22, 25-34; 1768, June 18, 30, pp. 64, 96, App. p. 4; 1769, June 1, July 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, pp. 10, 49, 52, 53, 56, 64, 67, 72, 73, 83; 1770, March 16, 29, April 9, 21, 26, pp. 92, 114, 141, 176, 189, 191, 192.

For grants to De Berdt or his heirs, see Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 467, 504, 566-567, 568-569, 570, 572-579, 589, 590, 592, 597, 636, 637, 638, 639-640; i. 320.

The account rendered by Dennis De Berdt on February 1, 1771 (xxii. 572-579), contains many interesting items throwing light on the duties and expenses of an agent, such as: "Coach hire £30.0.0;" "a Pair of Horses £105.0.0;" "To a Servants Wages Livery & Board £25.0.0;" "To the Annual Excise Tax on the Coach Wheels £4.0.0;" "Tavern & Coffee House Expenses;" "To a General Retaining fee to the Clerk of the house of Commons to be immediately informed when any Affairs of Importance came before the House respecting America £10.0.0;" "To republishing 500 Appeals to the World £7.4.0;" "Publishing 500 Extracts of a Letter & Remarks £3.8.6;" "To Ser^t Glynn's General retaining fee £2.2.6;" "To Printing 500 Junius Americanus £16.10.6."

This account, caught the eye of Governor Gage, and some of the items were transmitted in his letter of June 26, 1774, "because they appeared to him *extraordinary*" (4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, x. 717). The third pamphlet was Arthur Lee's "The Political Detection; or, the Treachery and Tyranny of Administration, both at Home and Abroad; displayed in a Series of Letters, signed Junius Americanus. London: . . . M DCC LXX."

BOSTON June 3^d 1780

SIR

With most Respectfull Regards, to the Honourable Board, I Begg their Acceptance of the Picture of the late Dennis De Berdt Esquire, who was a Sincere Friend, as well as an able Advocate, for the Cevill and Religious Libertys of this Country.

The many Eminent Services he did, for this State, at the Court of Great Brittain, when he had the Honour of appearing there, as an Agent, to the Honourable House of Representatives, is well known, and often Acknowledged, with perticular Regards, in their Letters to him.

I have the Pleasure of informing you, he has left an only Son, whose Riseing Usefullness in Life, does Honour to the Memory of such a Parent, And by his Attachments to its Interest, Endears himself, to the Friends of America.

From the highest Esteem to the Memory of my deceasd Friend, I Humbly desire, the Honourable Councell, would direct his Picture, to be placed, among the other worthy Personages, that are such Ornaments to their Chamber,

& am,
Sir

Your most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

RICHARD CARY ¹

The Honourable

James Bowdoin Esquire
President

In the Council Records, under date of June 7, 1780, will be found the following:

Order respects
picture of Dennis
de Bert Esq^r

On Letter from Richard Cary Esq^{re} presenting to this Board an Elegant Picture of Dennis D'Bert Esq^r formerly Agent to the Honble House of Representatives at the Court of Great Britain — Ordered that the thanks of this Board be given to Richard Cary Esq^r for his present of an elegant picture of the late Dennis D'Bert esq^r formerly Agent to the Honble House of Repre-

¹ Massachusetts Archives, clxxi. 170. The letter is addressed "To The Honourable James Bowdoin Esquire President of y^e Councell Boston;" and is endorsed, "Letter from Rich^d Cary Esq^r Presenting a Picture of Dennis De Berdt Esq^r & Vote of Council. June 7th 1780." The "Vote of Council" is of course merely a copy of that given in the text, and is signed "Attest John Avery D Sec."

sentatives at the Court of Great Britain whose good services during his Agency & whose firm attachment to the Civil & Religious Liberties of the Country will ever endear his memory to the Friends of America — & that the said picture be placed in the Council Chamber.¹

With the kind permission of Governor Draper, this portrait has been photographed and is here reproduced. Who painted the picture, or how it came into the possession of Cary,² is unknown; but

¹ Council Records, xxv. 175. See also Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, i. 38 note.

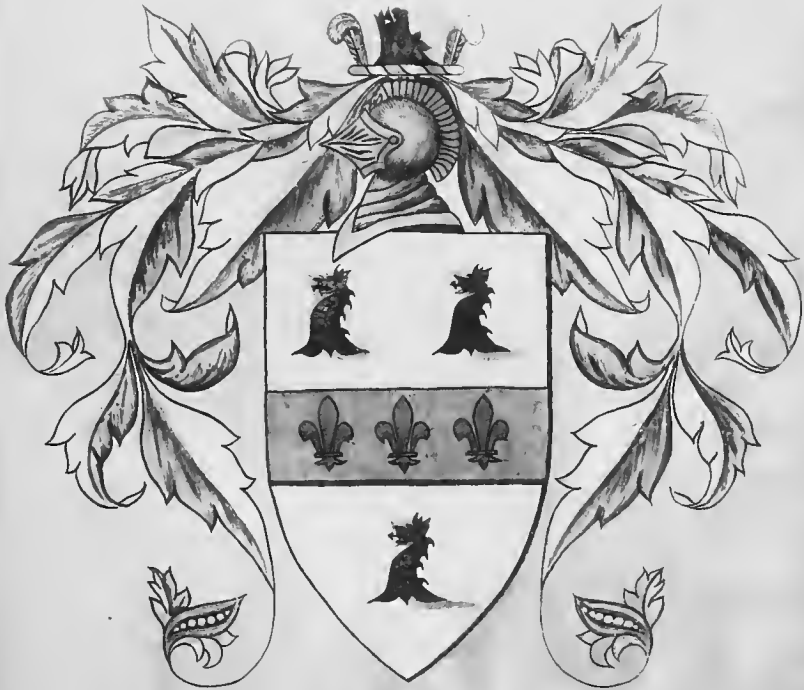
² Richard Cary was an intimate friend of the De Berdts. On November 2, 1774, Mrs. Joseph Reed wrote from Philadelphia to her brother Dennis De Berdt:

The Congress brought some private pleasure as well as public advantage. It gave us the opportunity of seeing some of our old correspondents, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Adams, etc., with whom we spent some cheerful hours, but especially our very worthy friend Mr. Cary, who has just left us, after spending near a month with us, and giving us much pleasure with his company. He is a most cheerful, worthy old gentleman, and from his former friendship with our dear father, and regard for us and you, I never entertained any person more affectionately or with greater pleasure. We were all low-spirited when he went away. . . . He gave us a kind invitation to his house, which we intend to accept about this time next year, if no accident prevents, and if things take a favorable turn, I think you must come and go with us (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 204).

Richard Cary died on February 7, 1790. Of the two following notices, the first is taken from the Massachusetts Centinel of Wednesday, February 10, 1790 (p. 3/1), and the second from the same paper of February 17 (p. 3/1):

DIED] — Suddenly, at Charlestown, Sunday morning, RICHARD CARY, Esq. aged 73, greatly esteemed and lamented. His funeral will be from his late Dwelling House, this afternoon at half past 3 o'clock which his relations and friends are requested to attend from this invitation.

On Wednesday, the 10th inst. the remains of RICHARD CARY, Esq. of Charlestown, were committed to the grave with every mark of respect due to so excellent a character. Mr. CARY was an ornament and blessing to society. His temper was gentle, pacifick and benevolent; his deportment polite and engaging; his friendships were sincere and affectionate; his piety ardent and exemplary; his charity warm and extensive. He was a true friend to religion, and zealously engaged in every practicable design of promoting the cause of christianity. His virtues and accomplishments gained him the love of a numerous acquaintance: He maintained a large correspondence, and was highly respected at home and abroad. Strangers were always happy in his company. He was affable, condescending and obliging to all; and was never more in his element than when doing good. His death was sudden; but he died as he had lived, and as every good man would wish to die, bearing testimony with his last breath to the religion of the gospel, and supported by the hope of a blessed immortality.



De Berdt

The De Berdt family were driven out
of their possessions at Berg in Flanders
by the Duke Alva in 1568

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

underneath the portrait is a design of the De Berdt coat of arms, also reproduced here.

Of De Berdt's family, little need be said. His only son Dennis, though he never came to this country, was deeply interested in American affairs, and at one time had an official connection with New Jersey. He married about 1777,¹ and died in England on March 31, 1817.² Owing to the similarity in names, he is sometimes confused with his father.³

¹ Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, ii. 258; Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 292.

² W. B. Reed states that he "died at an advanced age in or about the year 1820" (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 35 note). His death is recorded in the Morning Chronicle, London, of April 1, 1817: "On the 31st ult. Suddenly, by the rupture of a blood vessel, Dennis De Berdt, Esq. of Clapton, Middlesex" (p. 3/5). The death of a "Mrs. De Berdt, of Tottenham," is noted in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1803, lxxiii. 283.

The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Jenner, 284) of Dennys De Berdt of St. Luke's, Middlesex, merchant, dated August 11, 1769, and proved August 6, 1770, contains the following items: "I desire that not more than £20 be paid on my funeral. I hereby confirm the gift of a house at St. John's Row, Exeter, to my cousin Francis Bedwell, of the said city, to him & his heirs for ever. I bequeath to the widow of the late M^r Thomas Zouch, of the Bank of England, or if she be dead to be equally divided among their children, £100. To my late partners, Wright Burkitt & Stephen Sayre, £20 each. To my son Dennis & my daughter Esther, £1000 each. To my wife Martha De Berdt, £2000. To my executor, Thomas Uffington, £50. Residuary legatee, my wife Martha. Executors, my said wife, M^r Thomas Uffington & my son, Dennis De Berdt." The name of Wright Burkitt, broker, appears in a list of bankrupts printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1773 (xliii. 104).

The will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Effingham, 237) of Dennis De Berdt of Freeman's Court, Cornhill, and Clapton, parish of St. John, Hackney, Middlesex, dated March 20, 1811, and proved May 3, 1817, contains the following items: "Residuary legatees, my son Dennis De Berdt & my daughter, Mary Hovell. I desire to be buried in Bunhill Fields. Executors, James Comerford & my son-in-law, Thomas Hovell. Codicil dated December 6, 1811, that having given large sums of money to his son, the same are to be counted as part of his legacy."

³ On May 11, 1769, William Franklin wrote to his father:

Mr. Morgan, our Secretary, is in Canada. . . . Mr. Reed, our Dep'y Sec'y, has, I understand, let his house in Trenton, and intends soon for England, to marry De Berdt's Daughter. He has not, however, mentioned his intention to me, and perhaps will not think it necessary (New Jersey Archives, x. 114).

On January 5, 1776, Governor Franklin wrote to Lord Dartmouth:

But I am told that they have obtained a Copy of the whole of that Letter, though only a part was laid before Parliament. By what means this has been done

De Berdt's only daughter, Esther, was born October 11, 1747. When Joseph Reed, after graduating at the College of New Jersey in 1757, went to London in 1763 and read law at the Middle Temple, he met the De Berdts, fell in love with Esther, and an engagement — at first secret, but soon avowed — took place between them. For some reason the elder De Berdt¹ refused his consent to a marriage, and it was not until after his death that the two were married at St. Luke's Church, London, on May 22, 1770. They soon came to this country, bringing Mrs. De Berdt¹ with them, and reached Philadelphia late in October, as appears from the following notice in the Boston News-Letter on November 8:

PHILADELPHIA, *October 29.*

The Hon. JOHN FOXCROFT, Esq; . . . and JOSEPH READE, Esq; of Trenton, and his Lady, (a Daughter of the late DENNYS DEBERDT, Esq; the worthy and faithful Agent of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay) are safe arrived here . . . from London, to the great Joy of their numerous Friends (p. 3/1).

Joseph Reed's subsequent career is too well known to require comment. He died on March 5, 1785, his wife having previously died on September 18, 1780. Of her many letters that have been printed, a few are interesting, but only two need be quoted. On December 12, 1766, she wrote to Reed:

My papa has a good many letters to write by the packet, and as he cannot transact business as quickly as he used to do, you must excuse a letter from him now. He bids me tell you his opinion of Dr. Franklin, — that he stood entirely neuter till he saw which way the cause would be carried, and then broke out fiercely on the side of America.²

I cannot learn, but I find it is suspected that it was obtained by some management of M^r De Berdt, and that this has been one Reason for the Assembly appointing him their Agent (New Jersey Archives, x. 681).

To this passage is appended this note: "Dennis De Berdt, father-in-law of Joseph Reed. He was appointed November 24, 1775. — *Minutes of Provincial Congress, etc.*, 1775-6, 295." The person alluded to in the first of these extracts was of course the elder De Berdt, while the person mentioned in the second was the younger De Berdt.

¹ From a letter written by Esther De Berdt (*Life*, p. 49) on March 16, 1765, it appears that her parents were married about 1745. Mrs. De Berdt lived with her son-in-law Joseph Reed until 1783, when she returned to England. The date of her death is unknown.

² *Life of Esther De Berdt*, p. 107.

And on March 14, 1775, she wrote to her brother: "Do tell us what part the great Dr. Franklin is taking; whether he has the openness to declare his sentiments before he sees which way affairs will terminate."¹

Of the one hundred and sixty-six or so letters and documents here for the first time brought together, it is believed that most have not before been printed.² Though they contain some references to private affairs, those written between 1765 and 1770 relate almost wholly to public events, and may be read in connection with Judge Chamberlain's chapter on "The Revolution Impending" in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* (VI. 1-112), the Rev. Edward G. Porter's chapter on "The Beginning of the Revolution" in the *Memorial History of Boston* (III. 1-66), the *Boston Records*, the *Writings of Samuel Adams*, *Wells's Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, *Tudor's Life of James Otis*, *Massachusetts Papers*, *Bradford's Massachusetts State Papers*, the *American Gazette*, *Almon's Prior Documents*, the *Political Register*, the *True Sentiments of America* (1768), and the contemporary newspapers.³

LETTER BOOK OF DENNYS DE BERDT, 1765-1770

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON, Decem^r. 14th. 1765.

HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE ⁴

I rec^d. your obliging favour of the 7th. Ulto. acquainting me of your House appointing me their special Agent in the Important affairs now dependg. relating to your Province & the respectfull manner in which you are pleased to express it as well as the Large Majority by which I was chosen doubles the obligation.

pr.
Packett

¹ Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 210.

² Exactly how many have previously been printed it would be impossible to say without an exhaustive search in the contemporary Boston newspapers. Some were there printed with De Berdt's name attached, others were there printed but without naming De Berdt as the writer.

³ Many letters written to De Berdt will be found in *Massachusetts Papers*, in *Bradford's Massachusetts State Papers*, and in 4 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, iv. 347-366.

Attention may not inappropriately be called to Edwin P. Tanner's paper on "Colonial Agencies in England during the Eighteenth Century" (*Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1901, xvi. 24-49).

⁴ Samuel White (1700-1769), Speaker of the Massachusetts House.

I imidiately attended L^d. Dartmouth with instructions & your several Pettitions who Communicated them to the Secretarys of State & L^d. Rockingham who re^{cd}. them very favourably & I rec^d. them Back today untill the several Agents meet & agree how to proceed & deliver them in form. I thought it much more important to Lay the papers before the ministry than Loose time to consult M^r. Jackson ¹ whom I meet at L^d. Dartmouths today & He promised you all the service in his Power

I have the pleasure to acquaint you the ministry are intirely convinced of the Bad Tendency of the late regulations & disposed to relieve you, but expect a warm opposition from the old ministry & what they Call the Country Party, you may depend nothing in my power shall be wanting to serve you as I am fully persuaded the Interest of the Colonies & their Mother Country are Inseperable & with their affection mutual.

I have further the satisfaction to Inform you that the merchants of London are warmly espous^e. your Cause, have Chosen a Committee to Carry on an application to parliment who have sent Circular Letters to the Principal Cities & Towns throughout the Kingdom to Join their Weight and influence with ours & then to Bring Both City & Country an well as your own Pettitions in aid to the ministry which I hope will be a way superior to any party opposition that can be made against us ²

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Dec^r. 27th. 1765.

THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE .

pr
Dixey.³

I wrote you a hasty Line by the Packett the 14 Ins^t. thank you for the favour your Hon^{ble}. House has done me in appointing me their spec^l. agent in the very Important affairs now depend^e. in Parliment, of which I Here send you a Copy, & also inclose His majestys speech in which He has a reference to the Pettitions from the Congress, my Copies not being deemd authentick vouchers, and indeed made me think it a Little strange to send me an appointment on so Important an affair & no Authentick vouchers to lay before the ministry which understanding m^r. Jackson Had, to day I rec^d. them from Him, & will make the Best use I Can of them for the Interest of the Province

¹ Richard Jackson.

² A copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives contains the following sentence, not in the Letter Book: "I write this as a Committee man as well as as Agent as I would omitt nothing that would ease the minds of the province being ambitious in every Capacity of shewing you how much I am Yrs &c" (lvi. 467).

³ Capt. Thomas Dixey.

Mr. Jackson shew'd me the Letter that Came wth. them & thereby it appears they was sent by your Representatives of the Congress from New York,¹ & not from the House of Representatives at Boston who Transmitted the Copies only, the other members of the Congress waiting for the Choice of the several Assemblies of the Provinces none of their special Appointments have yet arrived that it looks as if I must go with the weight of all the Provinces for I am determined there shall not be a day lost, as soon as the ministry who are Intirely in your Interest think it proper for me to act, which they will faithfully inform me what steps to take, L^d. Dartmouth in particular with whom I dined yesterday in a free Friendly Conversatⁿ. professed a real affection for America which gave me & Good Mr. Smith² who dined with us a sensible pleasure, for it is happy to have a Friend at Court.

Mr. Jackson assures me of all the assistance in His Power both in & out of the House & should Divine Providence Honour me to be an Instrum^t. of Good to a Province where there is so many of His faithfull servants as I really believe there is in yours it will be peculiar pleasure and satisfaction to yours &c.

As our Parliement dont meet to do Business untill the 17th the next Packett can Bring you nothing material, but at the opening the sessions your affairs Bore a very favourable aspect.³

DE BERDT TO HARRISON GRAY

LONDON Dec^r. 28th. 1765.

HARRISON GRAY Esqr.

I this moment rec^d. your favour of the 11th Novem^r. Covering a Bill of exchange for £200 w^{ch}. I doubt not will be duly Honoured & shall be faithfully apply'd to the Service of the Province

pr.
Dixey
Copy
pr.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Jan^y. 11th, 1766.

THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITE

Having spent most of the Day in attend^e. Lord Dartmouth I have only Time this Eveng. to refer you to the above nothing material has since occur'd but to assure you no endeavours of mine shall be wanting to demonstrate that I am

Pr
Packett

¹ The Stamp Act Congress.

² John Smith, a Boston merchant, often mentioned.

³ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 468-469.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Jan^y. 16, 1766.THE HON^{ble}. COL. WHITEpr
Packett
Copy pr.

I wrote you on Saturday pr Packett to acquaint you our American affairs bore a very favourable aspect. But on Tuesday Mr. Pitt in a long Speech opened in our favour silenced all the objections of the old Ministry & asserted yr. right of Internal Taxation in the strongest Terms & declared nothing else but a Total repeal would answer the Salutary ends in View, nay that it was the Interest of Great Britain to extend your Commerce & open every markitt for your Produce.

The London Merchants Pettition is deliv'd the several Parts of the County will follow as well as your Pettition which has had its use privately with the ministry Into whose hands I immediately put them, & as I had been inform'd they had been put into the Hands of the old Speaker Onslow¹ I waited on Him yesterday & had some free Conversation with Him, & He is very explicately in the favour of America & He was so obliging as to mention me to L^d. Dartmouth as an old friend of His

The ministry are kind enough to detain the Packett that the merchants & Agents may write to America to relieve their Anxiety. I shall Continue to solicit the affair with the greatest assiduity &c.

DE BERDT TO ABRAHAM LYNSEN

LONDON Jany. 16th, 1766.M^r. ABR^m. LYNSEN.pr.
Packett.

I wrote on Saturday to M^r. Smith and desired Him to acquaint you our New ministry were Freinds to America & that I hop'd for no less than a Total Repeal of the oppressive Acts which since has become more evident by the Debates of the House on Tuesday when M^r. Pitt appeared openly in your favour & gave such reasons not only at a Repeal but asserted your Privileges as Englishmen back with such arguments as silenced all opposition. I am Witness to the Good disposition of the ministry, as I am chose special Agent on this Occasion for Boston but Wonder in the Pettitions of the Congress I see no Signature for New York &c.

¹ Arthur Onslow (1691-1768).

DE BERDT TO GEORGE WYLLYS

LONDON Jan'y. 16th, 1766.GEORGE WILLIS ESQ.¹

No appointment of special Agent from you or any other of the Provinces but that for Massachusetts Bay who have appointed me for that service appearing I was determined to use your joint Petition to the Best purposes for the Colonies advantage tho I stood alone in that service I have therefore Immediately on the receipt of them put them into the Hands of the ministry & they have had so good an effect that your American Interest bears a very favourable aspect for on Tuesday when the Kings speech came under Consideration in the House of Commons Mr. Pitt declared in your favour not only for repealing the Noxious Laws but in assisting the very priviledges you Contend for which is such an interesting piece of News I could not answer Concealing Especially as the ministry are so obliging to detain the Packett a few days that we might have the opportunity as early as possible to ease the solitudes of our Friends in America should there be occasion on the process of the affair to see Counsell I doubt not but you will be y^r. Part of the Expençe that the Whole may not lye on Boston.

pr.
Packett

Sent Copy of the above Letter to Rhode Island

Sent another Copy to New Jersey

Sent another Copy to Pennsylvania

Sent another Copy to Kent & Sussex on Delaware

Sent another Copy to Mariland.

pr
Packett
Copies
pr
Packett

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON Feby. 15th, 1766HON^{ble} COL. WHITE

Since my last there has been great debates about American affairs & many ill natured things flung out against America, that I thought it absolutely necessary to present your Petition (especially as last year your Petition by some means miscarried) I accordingly waited on Gen^l. Conway our Secretary of State with that to His Majesty which He said He would present, & that to the House of Commons into the

pr
Califf²
Copy
pr
Packett¹ George Wyllys (1710-1796), long Secretary of Connecticut.² Capt. Robert Calef.

Hands of our member for Middlesex¹ a man of considerable Influence in the House & Chairman of the American Committee who was so well pleased with the Petition that He undertook to present it to the House which He introduced & read Twice over with His remarks thereon which was taken up & supported by Mr. Pitt but the House objected to the Congress & therefore after 2 Hours debate it was dropt without either being accepted or Rejected.

But Gen^l. Conway desired me to assure my Friends in America that it was not from any disrespect to them but purely from the form That to the House of Lords I delivered to L^d. D: but the House Could not receive it because it was *memorial* which that House never accepts — Mr. Conway told me there was 3 Parties in the House, one was severe method the other for a Repeal but for previous resolves to assert the right & Power of Parliment, the Third which Includes the ministry for a Repeal without any previous resolutions at all but in Order to secure the Repeal they were obliged to agree to the resolves in order to secure a majority for a Repeal which by that means He apprehended they should be secure in the great Question, in which light He hoped the Americans would take their resolutions however the Strength of Mr. Grenvils Party has been Tryed by His moving to inforce the Act which was rejected by a majority of above 2 to 1 in the Commons & in the House of Lords the motion was withdrawn, the ministry detaind the Packett that it may Carry the news of a Repeal, & have several other Regulations in favour of America, & I really think them your Friends, I was desirous of Giving you this Previous account by Califf & when the Packett sails you may depend on further Particulars.

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS, ETC.

LONDON Feb^y 15th, 1766.

JAMES OTTIS ESQ^r & OTHERS

I duly received your obliging favour full of Good sense & Candid & Strong reasoning & I agreee with every sentiment, & Imediately laid it before L^d. D. our American Patron, For the Particular State of affairs I refer you to what I wrote to Col. White by this vessell, as I would miss no opportunity of assuring you how much I am yours &c.

pr
Califf
Copy
pr
Packett

¹ George Cooke: cf. p. 335, below.

DE BERDT TO GEORGE WYLLYS

LONDON Feby 15th, 1766.GEO. WILLIS, ESQ^r.

Since the above many difficulties have started & strong opposition appeared against repealing the oppressive Laws & many ill Natured things flung out against America made me think it quite necessary your Congress petition should come before the House of Commons, & be delivered to the King accordingly I waited on the Secretary of State & delivered that to His majesty & acquainted Him with my Intention to put the other to the House of Commons into the Hands of our member for Middlesex a Gentleman of Considerable weight in the House who kindly undertook it & read it over twice in the House making his own remarks as He went along, which was strenuously supported by Mr. Pitt but the Congress itself being Judged an illegal assembly the House would not receive it in form; tho Gen^l Conway our Secretary of state desired me to assure our Friends in America the objection did not arise from disrespect but merely from the form.

pr
Califf
Copy pr
Packett

That to the House of Lords was absolutely refused as a *memorial* which that House never receives, I have the satisfaction to have Carried the affair as far as the Case would admitt, the Strength of Both Houses has been tryed by the old ministry proposing Inforcing the Act, which has been rejected in one House by a majority of 21 to 1 & in the other the motion Withdrawn, but as I only interested myself in Pushing the Congress Pettition I shall refer you to your Proper Agent¹ for the Isue of the important affair — The matter of the Pettition was so fully debated in the House for some Time, that there was no room for Feeing Counsill as was Hinted in the Pettition & that expence became unnecessary.²

Sent Copy of the Above Letter to Rhode Island.

pr
Califf

¹ Richard Jackson. See Massachusetts House Journals, December 8, 1766, February 5, 1767, pp. 216-217, 250.

² A letter dated February 28, 1766, about the Declaratory Act, signed by De Berdt and twenty-eight others, is in 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 446-448. For allusions to De Berdt, see Massachusetts Historical Collections, First Series, ii. 44; Fifth Series, ix. 214; Sixth Series, ix. 150, 160, 165, 269; New Jersey Archives, xxv. 40.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON March 1st, 1766.THE HON^{ble} COL WHITE.

pr
Jacobson¹
Copy pr
the express

You will by to Nights Packett which the ministry were so obliging as to detain on purpose, receive ample Accounts of the proceedings & opposition that attended the Repeal of the Stamp Act, which as this ship may arrive before the Packett, I have the pleasure to acquaint you the repeal has now passed the Commons & make no doubt but it will pass the Lords & obtain His majestys assent — If you have any further Instructions to give me to promote your priviledges & prosperity they shall be Carefully attended to & Faithfully executed by

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON March 1766

MR. WILL^m SMITH²

I know so much of your Patriotick spirit that it will give you pleasure to Hear the oppressive S: Act is now repeal'd & the merchants were so desirous to ease the minds of their friends in America, that they have Chartered this Ship to come express with the news for fear of any accident to the Common Conveyance

I congratulate you on the Happy occasion and the Breaking this main Link of the Chain of oppressⁿ. which had been Forged for America, for the whole appears to me to be a Scheme of oppression, & we are escaped. lett us be humble & Thankfull, eye God & His Providence & give Him the praise of our deliverance

There is yet much to be done, the Admiralty Courts must be restrained the exorbitant Duty on Molasses Lowerd, & the restraints on Trade removed & tho we hope to effect through the favour of the present ministry, who Justly think the Interest of England & Her Colonies one, I have heard somethg. of the oppressive Case of Conningham³ & the Noble st^a. for the Liberties of the People your son has made

¹ Capt. Howard Jacobson.

² William Smith (1697–1769) graduated at Yale College in 1719. He married (1) Mary Het, who died in 1754; and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Scott of England and widow of Col. Elisha Williams (H. C. 1711), fourth Rector of Yale College. The second William Smith (1728–1793) graduated at Yale in 1745 and wrote the well-known History of New York.

³ This is apparently an allusion to the case of Waddel Cunningham, about which there is much in the Colden Papers.

While I am writing yours of the 14th Jan^y and the Judicious discription of your scituation & deep Concern for your oppressed Country further Convinces me the contents of this will be highly acceptable. Cunningh^s Case accompanied it, which was Injudiciously put in the Bagg & Cost 7/1 postage pamphlets should always be put into the Captains Chest & delivered at the Coffee House — I will read it with attention and Lay it before the ministry by way of information who are really friends to Liberty & Friends to America & what M^r Conway wrote to your province was really to preserve the peace, & If in the last Stage of Life I can be of any service to the Cause of Religion & Liberty it will be a real pleasure & satisfaction to yrs &c.

My Compliments to your excellent Lady & tell Her I Note the Contents of Her Letter of a Publick Nature but by this express I cannot get Time to answer it.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON March 17th.

THE HON^{ble} COL: WHITE

I have now to inform you the Repeal of the Stamp Act is now Completed, & that the minds of the People might be eased as soon as possible the merchants have hired a Vessell to dispatch Immediately under their own direction for fear the Common opportunities of writing might by some means be delay'd or miscar'd.

You will have the Molasses duty reduced to 1^d & a new Regulation of the Admiralty Courts a Bill being soon to be brought into the House for that purpose & some other advantages to Trade which will be supported by the Body of Merchants & shall be duly attended to by yrs &c.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL WHITE

LONDON April 26th 1766.

THE HON^{ble} COL. WHITE

I have the honour of yours of the 21st Feby. and your approving my Conduct gives me great satisfaction, but your honourable house Joining in that approbation raises it to the highest pitch, & should the further prosecutions of your Instructions which I have communicated in my succeeding Letters, meet with the Like Honour it will still stimulate my ambition to serve your Interest in the other Articles that are yet depending in parliament all which will not be compleated this season, for I want to gett the Duty on your Oyl, under the Like advantages by

Law to your fishing as was 60 years agoe enacted for Newfound Land, wherein the Inhabitants of New England are intirely overlook'd. Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON May 18, 1766

THE HON^{ble} W^m. SMITH ESQ^r.

Your Duplicates of the 14th March came duly to hand & you will see by my several replys I have not neglected the Interest of America & congratulate you again on things taking so happy a turn & particularly that the matter of Repeals is settled according to Law & the safety & Liberty of the Colonies, which can never thrive but by the Plan of religious & Civil Liberty which I ever had at Heart & I can assure you with pleasure that is the Plan the present Ministry adopt & persue — On receiving your Papers I immediately waited on L^d Dartmouth as a friend & shewed him your Letter as well as the Petition & called yesterday for his Answer, he directed me to the usual method of laying it before the Council who will then refer to the board of Trade at which his Lordship presides & a Report from them in your favor will procure its desird success, I shall neglect no time in pushing it & have Reason to think L^d Dartmouth is my friend — Mr. Sparrow calld on me to know what expence I had been at, for the present it is only the Fees of the several Offices we go thro: & if it issues in a Mandamus as you observe the Expence will be considerable, which I shall advise you as we proceed, & direct my New Partner, M^r Stephen Sayre¹ of your Province to wait on you (as he is on his way to America) & receive your Commands. —

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON June 14th, 1766

HON^{ble} WILL. SMITH ESQ^r

Since mine by this opportunity I have got your Pettition passed the Council, & referd to the Board of Trade and hope in 2 or 3 Weeks to get them reported back to the Council, as well as your Churches Petti-

¹ Stephen Sayre, who graduated at the College of New Jersey in the same class with Joseph Reed (1757), became De Berdt's partner, and to him Reed attributed the financial disasters that overtook De Berdt at the close of his life. Sayre was elected a sheriff of London in 1773 — not, as usually stated, in 1774 — and, after a varied and picturesque career, died in Virginia in 1818.

tions¹ which I have advised M^r Jn^o Smith as I thought it would be some satisfaction to hear they were in motion & that they shall not be Neglected by

DE BERDT TO JOHN SMITH

LONDON June 14th 1766

M^r JOHN SMITH

Since my Letters were put into the Bagg I have got your Churches petition¹ referd by the Council to the Board of Trade, and am in hopes 2 or 3 Weeks will produce their Report to the Council were I will diligently follow it untill I can obtain an order, though in the Interim it would be some satisfaction to know the affair is in any forwardness, my Compliments wait on the rest of the Gentleman an assure them that I am yrs. &c

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON July 2^d, 1766.

M^r OTTIS

We now learn the happy News of the Repeals reaching you at Boston but the special occasion of my writing to you; is that the ministry have been inform'd that you & the Sons of Liberty speack very diminitively of what has been done for you. I can't think the report true, if false I should be glad to have it in my power to contradict it, This I am sure were you apprized of the Difficulties & reproach the Ministry have gone through to serve you, you must have a gratefull sense of what they have done, & are still desirous to do everything that appears to be for the mutual advantage of Great Britain & Her Colonies & therefore deserves your highest gratitude — If any one is doing ill offices between you and the ministry, I should be glad they may be detected & loose their Influence, that the Wound that has been made in affection of Great Britain & Her Colonies may be healed without a scar, & the sons of Liberty by their future Conduct may gain the esteem of a ministry acting on the like Principles at Home yours &c.

DE BERDT TO STEPHEN SAYRE

LONDON July 29th 1766

DEAR SAYRE

We received with great joy the news of your safe arrival, & hope it was an answer of Prayer, & hope the same ki^d Providences that has

¹ See p. 324 note 1, below.

secured you hitherto will still attend you in all your Journeying — I am much obliged to my Friends for their kind sentiments & will always endeavour to deserve them, their approbation will always stimulate my application on their behalf. I am much pleased wth your reception. I said you was a Wedge of my reputation in America sharpen the thin end your own conduct would Drive it — I will first talk with Cap^t Binney¹ & then with L^d D I wrote you of M^r C T² unaccountable turn nay he went so far as to say He was sorry I was Connected wth such an Impertina^t Fellow There is no dependance on Him he is a meer Weather Cock we received yours on Saturday, & Hetty³ immediately wrote a line to her & inclosed it to Lincolnshire the Time being expired she was to spend at Haragate, & behold on Monday came a Letter to tell Her she stops 3 or 4 weeks at a friends House in Yorkshire puts Hetty sadly on the Fret, she writes to Night to tell Her you are well & where your lettr. lies — M^r — was with me 2 Hours & gives me a very fair account of his own Conduct which almost persuades me He has been overcharged. I wrote last to New York, to apprise you there is a party pretty strong for making M^r Ray (you remember Him) Agent or at least joint Agent with M^r Sergeant⁴ the Draper to whom they have voted a p of Plate for His services, so greatly are people imposed upon in America, you know the Nutrl part He acted untill the Division of the House discovered which side the Strength Lay & M^r J tells me He was introduced into Parliament by Mr. G——s⁵ Interesting this is setting the Fox to watch the Geese that it will be Necessary without Delay to go to New York & Trye our Interest where you will meet M^r Thelby⁶ & the rest of your Friends & try their Strength.

But among all your efforts Remember the money & Bowl that Home its the best Bait for the Whale fishing but look on Philadelphia as the Center where the bulk of the Debts lyes, & where M^r Reed⁷ will give you his assistance He longs to see you — The Governour is doubtless

¹ Probably Capt. Barnabas Binney.

² Probably Charles Townshend.

³ Esther De Berdt, who married Joseph Reed.

⁴ On January 19, 1765, John Sargent was returned to Parliament from West Looe (alias Portpigham) Borough, Cornwall, *vice* Francis Butler, deceased. In June, 1766, the New York Assembly resolved to make provision for an equestrian statue of George III, a statue of Pitt, and a piece of plate for Sargent; but it was not until February 6, 1768, that the money was actually voted — £1000, £500, and £100, respectively. (Colonial Laws of New York, iv. 1002–1003; Journal of the Legislative Council of New York, ii. 1653.)

⁵ Probably George Grènvile.

⁶ Perhaps "Shelly."

⁷ Joseph Reed (1741–1785).

imprudent & its my opinion the Vote of our Parliament in His favour has oversett Him its more than He can bear & now He struts in his dignity, I know He is an old favourite of yours — When you come to New York call on M^r Phillip Doughty, He is a worthy man as Den¹ says. He has remitted us £500 to buy Him Goods we are promised same Doll^{rs} by Friend but things come home very slow.

You will make my Compliments acceptable to all my Friends & assure them of my best services

Tomorrow the address is to be delivered to his Majesty & there will be some changes in the Ministry to which M^r Pitt is Privy & among them He comes inn Conway is still Inn & Onslow & Rockingham out but do not hear the Board of Trade will be affected but the particulars are not yet known. All our Family join in attendance of Love to you wth

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM BRATTLE

LONDON July 19th 1766

MAJOR GEN^l BRATTLE²

The obliging manner in which you open y^r Correspondence with me demands a Friendly acknowledgment & it gives me great pleasure to see a serious spir^t mixed with your rejoicing, the sermon³ as you say is a plain honest discourse suted to the Occasion, & hope this Temper is a token for good that God has yet mercies in store for your land — I read the Testimony you bear of the Lawalty of your People to L^d Dartmouth with which He was well pleased & the address of your house which will be presented to King Tomorrow is a further proof of it

You are very obliging to be concerned for my Health I bless God I enjoy an uncommon share of it for my years but have something of a Stone that I cannot Walk much tho I can bear a Carriage, & I think I have grown better ever since you have called me to Publick service for I desire to stand up in the cause of Civil & Religious Liberty while my Bellows continue to heave or my pulse to reverberate — I thank you D^r Sir for your Civilities to M^r Sayre I trust he is a man after my own Heart who will take my Son by the Hand & animate Him to fill up my Place in the Church & the World when I shall be no more, the

¹ Dennis De Berdt.

² William Brattle (1706-1776).

³ Doubtless "A Thanksgiving Sermon on the total Repeal of the Stamp-Act. Preached in Cambridge, New England, May 20th, . . . By Nathaniel Appleton, M.A., Pastor of the First Church in said Town. Published by the Desire of the Audience, and at the Expence of the Honorable Brigadier General Brattle. . . . Boston: . . . 1766."

steadiness & unanimity of the Colonies in opposing Slavery, & the universal propriety of their Conduct on the Repeal has further endeared them to yours &c.

DE BERDT TO STEPHEN SAYRE

M^r SAYRES P S

Your mentioning Cambridge reminds me that I have heard concerning the scholars there, they were so proph. as to act the Day of Judgment with a mock Solemnity, pray enquire into the fact, for if it be true & the prophane wretches not expelled there is nothing to be expected from that Colledge.¹ Before sailing I received yours of the 30 June, I agree in your opinion of M^r Smith shall not send Him a penny more Goods but the difficulty is how to gett out, which if He can gett anyone to serve Him we may do, & that I shall Press. I was no stranger to His Circumstances but thought I might depend on his Integrity & Prudence but Alas! Hinc Lacrima! — I have not time to reply particularly, but we have suffered Inconveniencys by our money being out of our hands — which if you gett it will be remedied & don't fear having Trade enough nor then pleasing our Customers, but when you are more Particular I shall be more explicit, if this Reaches you at Boston see M^r Chamberlin gett a Certificate of the Landing of the Tea &c & send it to us to Cancell our Bond at the Custom House which He has Neglected to do

You know there is nothing to be done for America untill next Winter the Parliament meets, & the uncertainty who will be in the Board of Trade is discouraging if L^d D plan of a third Secretary of State takes place He will be the man, and America will be happy but it is uncertain.

We have nothing to do with M^r Smiths Jewels nor are they on M^r Smiths Account, the Jeweler sent them on His own Account

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 28, 1766

M^r Tho^s CUSHING ²

I have the honour of yours covering an address to his Majesty Lord Dartmouth being out of Town I immediately sent my Son to lay it

¹ In the Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames is the following entry under date of November 20, 1765: "Scholars punished at College for acting over the great and last day in a very shocking manner, personating the Jude etertat Devil, &c." (Dedham Historical Register, ii. 27).

² Thomas Cushing (1725-1788) was chosen Speaker of the House on June 28, 1766, after James Otis had been disapproved by Governor Bernard.

before his Lordship & have his directions for Presenting it on Wednesday, & it is no small satisfaction to me that it is the first that has arrived & evidences that as none of the Colonies had a Juster sense of Liberty than your Province so none have been so forward in this Publick way to testifie their Loyalty & affection to your King & Mother Country

The approbation of my conduct by your honourable House¹ will lay me under fresh obligations to promote the Interest of the Province to the utmost of my Power

My expences have been of that nature in Numberless attendances & applications that it is not in my Power to ascertain them but believe they hardly ammount to one Quarter part of the money your house remitted for that purpose & even Postage has been no inconsid^{le} article nor is their any attendance on great People & great offices without expences, tho this I always laid down as a rule to be Prudently Frugal of Publick money

This Ship going Tomorrow I can only desire you will assure your hono^{ble} House I am with profound esteem yours &c.

DE BERDT TO ——— DOWN AND ——— THORNTON

LONDON July 29th 1766

M^r DOWN & M^r THORNTON

I received yours of the 20th April but not untill the 30 June & have sent to M^r Jackson for the Papers & have perused them & think your Case very hard, M^r Jackson has also acquainted me with some difficulties that have prevented his laying the Case before the Board some of them are remo^d but a present Change of the ministry makes the application at this Time improper when they are settled will push the affair & advise you of the success.

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON July 28, 1766

M^r OTTIS

Since my last I have received yours with News Papers which give me Concern at the misunderstanding there is between your house & the Governour I should think it must be unhappy for you Both.

You may depend on every thing in my power for the Peace & Welfare of the Province, tho Prudence & caution must be exercised, & sometimes

¹ See p. 301, above.

it is possible to overcome evil with Good which whether it succeeds or not it is a satisfaction to the mind that makes the attempt & therefore earnestly recommended by yours &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 6; 1766Mr THO^s CUSHING

Since my last I received a few lines from Lord D: in which he says

Copy pr.
Young¹

"I am sorry to hear that the Assembly of Boston has *refused* to make the indemnification recommended by Parliam^t. New York has complied"

had you been here to be fully apprised of the long debate in the House your friends supported to obtain the Word *Recommend* as a term intirely consistant with your Liberty, it must have left a gratefull impression on your minds, which your adress presented to His Majesty By the Duke of Richmond is so full of both to King & Parliament, that I can hardly believe you should come to such a resolution, if the report be a slander on the Province, I shall be glad if you will put it in my power to refute it, as I am ambitious your assembly who I have the honour to be employed by should stand high in the esteem of the King & Ministry, & Parliament as well as in the esteem of all the real Friends of America which such a refusal will Abate²

¹ Probably Capt. Robert Young.

² There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 487. It was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 10, 1766, p. 1/2; in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 101; and in the Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 936. The following is taken from the Massachusetts House Journals of November 7, 1766:

Bill read. A Bill intituled, *An Act for granting Compensation to the Sufferers, and of free and general Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion to the Offenders in the late Times*, was considered and Debated according to Order: And it was moved that a Clause be inserted therein to oblige every Town for the future, where any Riots shall happen and Damage ensue, to make Compensation for the same: And the Question being put, it pass'd in the Negative, 27 Yeas, 45 Nays.

Printers directed. *Ordered*, That the Printers be directed to publish a sufficient number of Copies of this Bill; and also Mr. Agent *De Berdt's* two Letters of 6th of *August*, and 19th of *September*, and deliver the same to the Members for the Consideration of their several Towns (p. 182).

There is in the Boston Public Library (H. 90a. 88) a four-page leaflet which begins as follows:

The following Bill now pending in the House of Representatives, is published by their Order for the Consideration of the several Towns in this Province.
A Bill intituled, An Act for granting Compensation to the Sufferers,

DE BERDT TO WILLIAM SMITH

LONDON Aug^t 5, 1766.THE HONBLE WILL SMITH ESQ^r

I received yours of the 24 June accompanied with M^r Buels narration ¹ which gives me great satisfaction but such Parcels should be delivered to the Captain care for when flung into the bagg come by the post & are very expensive. I have received three from diff^t friends which cost near 15/ Postage which might have been avoided not that I think them dear I would not but have saw them for more money than they cost,

and general Pardon, Indemnity and Oblivion to the Offenders in the late times.

Then follow the Act, an extract from Secretary Conway's letter of August 31, 1766, and De Berdt's letters of August 6 and September 19. The Act was passed December 6, 1766 (Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 903-904), but was disallowed by the Privy Council May 13, 1767.

¹ "A Faithfull Narrative of the Remarkable Revival of Religion, in the Congregation of East-Hampton, on Long-Island, In the Year of our Lord 1764. With Some Reflections. By Samuel Buell, A.M. Minister of the Gospel there. New-York: . . . 1766."

The dedication is dated September 25, 1765; and the Narrative concludes (p. 87) as follows:

Some late Accounts from the Rev. Mr. *Wheelock*, of *Lebanon*, together with the prevailing and excellent Disposition of many Persons both in *Europe* and *America* generously to contribute towards the Support of the *collegiate School*, more immediately under his indefatigable Care, gives ground to hope for the Propagation of the Gospel among the original *Natives of America*: Whereby the Kingdom of our introned *Saviour* will have the greater Extension, and the brighter Resplendency on Earth. AMEN! Even so come LORD JESUS; Come quickly!

On the verso of the half-title of the copy of this pamphlet in the Harvard College Library is written in ink "For M^r John Bailey from Samson Occom." In 1761 Mr. Buell published at New York "The Excellence and Importance of the saving Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospel-Preacher, plainly and seriously represented and enforced: And Christ preached to the Gentiles in Obedience to the Call of God. A Sermon, Preached at East-Hampton, August 29, 1759; at the Ordination of Mr. Samson Occum, A Missionary among the Indians." See pp. 426, 444, below.

The Boston Gazette of December 23, 1765 (p. 3/1), states that Occom and the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker sailed that morning for England. Landing at Brixham, Devonshire, on February 3, 1766, the two rode on horseback to Exeter, thence in a coach to Salisbury, and reached London on the 6th. There they were "hospitably entertained at the house of Mr. De Berdt," and the next day were conducted by John Smith to the house of Whitefield.

one I have put into the hands of L. D. which gave him great pleasure Rara Avis! a Nobleman pleased with such a narrative — I am sorry by D^r Chandlers death ¹ the address of the Synod is not come to light. I have sent to his Widdow & if I can recover it will endeavour to gett it to his majesty — your Pettition still lays with the Board of Trade, & the Governour having one of the same Nature, yours cannot be preferred. I will endeavour to keep pace with it, but at present there is such confusion in the change of Ministry, that nothing can be done L^d D insists on such a Scheme for America as will be greatly to their advantage but M^r Pitt objects to it, & he has the modeling of the new ministry that it is very uncertain whether L^d D is in or not — I had a Line from Him yesterday which gives me reason to hope He is not out yett

I sent y^r Letter to D^r Wood & M^r Whitfield as soon as I received them — nothing more can be done for trade untill the Parliament meets in the Winter, & then if we have a favourable ministry many things may be done to relieve you & was really intended by the late ministry & you have some known Friends in the new — you may depend I will omitt nothing in my Power to serve you & the Colonies. I am much concerned for good Mr. Finly ² who I hear is in dying circumstances

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Septem^r 2^d 1766

M^r Tho^s CUSHING

I duly received yours of the 28 June coverg. your vote of thanks in the late debate, which I directly delivered, tho most of them were out of Town during the Recess of Parliament, yesterday I received the duplicate & put fresh covers to M^r George Onslow ³ one of the very warmest of your friends & to M^r Tho^s ⁴ & Charles Townsend, ⁵ both of

¹ The Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler (1693–1766). In the Dartmouth Manuscripts is a memorial and petition, dated March 18, 1766, from the Presbyterian Church in New York to the Moderator and Members of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland, “soliciting the help of the venerable Assembly in obtaining a charter of incorporation for them. They have also applied to Mr. Dennis Debert and Doctor Samuel Chandler to make and solicit their application for the royal order” (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, app. part x. p. 38).

² The Rev. Samuel Finley (1715–1766), President of the College of New Jersey.

³ George Onslow (1731–1814), afterwards first Earl of Onslow.

⁴ Probably Thomas Townshend (1733–1800), afterwards first Viscount Sydney; but possibly Thomas Townshend (1701–1780), son of Charles Townshend (1674–1738), second Viscount Townshend.

⁵ Charles Townshend (1725–1767), son of Charles Townshend (1700–1764), third Viscount Townshend.

whom espoused your cause, the latter was very friendly to the extension of your Trade.

I think myself highly honoured by the approbation of your House & shall always be ambitious of deserving it, by a faithfull prosecution of all future directions — What ever proposals the merchants have to make will be in Time, as nothing can be done during the recess of Parliament, & the new ministry thourghly established but we have lost several good friends by the change pray make my duty acceptable to your honourable house & assure them I am with deep veneration Sir Yours &c.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept. 2, 1766

Mr THO^s CUSHING

I duly received yours of the 28 June & duplicate togeather covering your votes of thanks² to your several friends in the late debates which I directly delivered tho most of them were out of Town during the recess of Parliament you have omitted two very material Gentlemen Mr. G. Onslow son to the old Speaker & I may say the very warmest of your friends & one of the Lords of the Treasury as well as Mr. Charles Townsend now Chancelor of the exchequer who was very friendly to the extension of your Trade

Copy per
Blake³

I think myself highly honoured by the approbation of your house & shall always be ambitious of deserving it, by faithfull Procecuton of all future directions.

Whatever proposals the merchants have to make will be in time as nothing can be done during the recess of Parliament, & the new ministry thourghly established but we have lost several Good friends by the Change — Pray make my duty acceptable to your honourable house & assure them I am with deep veneration, yours & their faithfull hble. servant⁴

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept^r 19, 1766

THE HON^{ble} THO^s CUSHING

Since my last to you I have received severl. letters from your Friends in answer to your vote of thanks, which I herewith inclose, & by the uni-

Copy
per
Bruce⁵

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 507.

² See Massachusetts House Journals, June 20, October 30, November 13, 1766, pp. 108-109, 150, 202.

³ Probably Capt. John Blake.

⁴ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii, 496.

⁵ Capt. James Bruce.

versal [approbation] it has mett, proves it a very well judged measure. L^d Chesterfield & the old speaker Onslow, both whose hearts were warm in your cause, were very particularly pleased & the latter desired me to assure your house, he esteem'd it the highest honour could be fixed on him

I have yesterday waited on L^d Shelbourn our new secretary of State & his Lordship expressed himself to me in such terms as gave me great satisfaction & desired me to assure your house he had the highest regard for America wished their prosperity & would make it his care to promote it, that you might be perfectly easy about the enjoyment of your just rights & privileges under the present administration but on the other hand the dignity of government must be maint'd as well as due regard to the administration here wch. I assured him was their real disposition, as was manifest by tenor of all their letters & addresses two of which came through my hands, yours & from the lower Counties of Pensilvania

He desired you would finish the affair of the damages sustained because it gave occasion to yours & the enimys of the administration to upbraid them for the gentle measures they adopted on the other hand He had also wrote to every Governour on the continent to behave with temper & moderation to the sever^l. Provinces over which they preside, & he had wrote to your Governour in particular to persue healing measures & was so condesending to offer shewing me Copy of his letter the next time I waited on Him & added that what ever new govenours were made for the future, he would take care to send such men as should act upon the most generous principals & thereby secure the affection of the People

This his Lordship declared with a generous frank & openess which looses a great deal of his Native beauty by the imperfect representation of¹

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY, THOMAS MCKEAN, AND GEORGE READ

LONDON Sept^r 23: 1766

CAESAR RODNEY & C^o THO^s. M KEEN J: READ²

I received your Packett forwarded by M^r Rhea of Philadelphia containing an address to his majesty which I put into the hands of Lord

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 515-516. It was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 10, 1766, p. 1/2; in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 102; and (in part) in the Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 936. See also p. 322 note 2, above.

² Cæsar Rodney (1728-1784), Thomas McKean (1734-1817), and George Read (1733-1798).

Shelburn our new Secretary of State who presented it to his Majesty & was very graciously received. I told His Lordship it appeared to me, wrote with the most honest sympathy of any I had seen, he said it did & the King was so well pleased with it that he read it over twice — you have done me great honour by, the vote of the house in my favour, which I have also had from two other assemblies, but as yet no other Symbol or token of respect, but from you which when ever I look on,¹ I shall afresh remember your gratefull esteem, & my obligation to serve y^r Province whenever it lies in my power.

I have the pleasure to inform you, My Lord who has now the management of American affairs your Grievances were ²

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON 21st Oct^r 1767

EDWARD SHEAFFE ³ Esq^r.

I have received your friendly Letter of the 1st July 1767 — in which I agree with you intirely as to your principles of Conduct I shall make it my constant study while my strength permits to exert my influence in supporting the Harmony so necessary to preserve your happiness both here and in our Colonies — I view our connection in the same light as that between Soul & Body, and as healing Medicines convey the full Idea of preserving the natural Constitution, so healing measures are to be applyd to the Political — nor due violence sent either — I shall pay particular attention to the affairs of your Provence from friendship & inclination, and whatever weight & influence you give me shall fall in the same Ballance — I am sorry any of my friends shoud be so thoroughly mistaken as to imagine my services coud possibly prove more effectual from a partial Agency than from an appointment by the three Branches of the Legislature — for I can now assent to nothing or appear in the place they propose I shoud fill till a regular appointment under the seal of the Province is registerd at the board of Trade — I shall have a Conference with the Secretary of State in a few days and I shall acquaint you in what light those matters you mention appear to the Ministry.

I am with friendly esteem &c

¹ See pp. 300-301, above.

² This letter is concluded on a page torn out. It is quoted in J. T. Scharf's *History of Delaware*, i. 144, 185.

³ Edward Sheafe represented Charlestown in the General Court during 1764-1770. He was chosen Commissary General April 26, 1770 (*Massachusetts House Journals*, p. 189). The *Boston Gazette* of May 17, 1771, contained this notice: "This Morning died at Charlestown, Edward Sheaff, Esq; Commissary-General" (p. 2/3).

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON Dec^r 23^d 1767SAM DEXTER¹ ESQ^r

I received your several favours but can't refer to the particular dates as I left some of them with my Lord Shelburne for his perusal & have not yet received them again, tho: I have lately waited on him 3 times, but could not meet with his Lordship, there being a fluctuation in the Ministry, during which time no business was done — I have all along declared against a Paper currency for Massachusetts Bay, & believe every body think it quite needless or prejudicial to you — Your Letters are always welcome to me, as they are full of solid reasoning & good sense, always pursuing the happy Plan of mutual Intrest between G. B. & her Colonies, in which you agree with me & confirm my Sentiments — I am sorry there has been such a Parade in the Newspapers, which the Enemies of America will construe an Insult on their Mother Country, & several things in your Papers have lately given offence; and it was with concern I saw them copied from paper to paper here, that you'll be under a necessity of manufacturing many & various commodities for your own use is very evident, for if you have not sufficient Funds for Remittances, our exportation of goods to you must diminish & if you had quietly persued what necessity obliged you to, it woud have been sensibly felt here, without any ostentatious parade of words — There is a shaking in the ministry; & we are no less anxious than you are about the Elections in Parliament which will come on in May next — This is a very critical time in England — Provisions extremely dear — The Poor almost starving — and a farther decay of Trade must drive them to the most dreadful extremities — I am extremely obliged to you for your friendly expressions for promoting my Interest — Your Country people can have no notion of the trouble there is in attending Ministers & Officers of State & are as little sensible of the unavoidable expences which attend it for they can't be enumerated — I assure you it has engrossed almost all my time & attention & flung my own business so backward as it never has been thro 30 years Trade — I think Mr. Jackson, as you observe, has a right to a suitable Reward for his service, & heartily wish it may be given him — When any thing material turns up I shall be always ready to communicate it to you as my nearest friends & am with great Esteem & sincerity yours

¹ Samuel Dexter (1726–1810). He represented Dedham in the General Court. Cf. p. 296, above.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Dec^r 21, 1767THOMAS CUSHING Esq^r.

I duly received yours of 15th 16th & 24th oct^r & 3^d of nov^r and when all my Letters come to hand you will see I have not neglected my Friends in Boston, & am very sorry for the occasion of your complaints, which I believe was entirely owing to that Hon^{ble} Gentleman¹ who has since gone off the stage; & whose vehement eloquence made a great impression upon the House, for my Lord Shelburn has assur'd me repeatedly that the Ministry in general were true friends to America; & I hardly believe they woud have come into this measure cou'd they have avoided it — and I fear this making the Gov^{rs} & Judges less dependant upon the People will not promote your Peace & concord and am entirely with you in your desire to preserve your Liberties inviolate & think your reasoning just — I wish I cou'd inculcate it on Men in Power that this policy of imposing those grievances upon you is extremely wrong, and that G. B. ought to derive benefits from America in the way of Trade & not Taxes that making use of your own Manufactures as far it lies in your power will be both necessary and unavoidable, for if your Trade is diminished you cant make seasonable remittances for our Manufactures, and the Merchants here must refuse to supply you — As there is to be a new election next May — I hope such Members may be chosen as will exert their Interest in favour of injurd America — The reason of my sending the Acts of Parliament to M^r. Adams was — his having sent me the transactions of your Assembly, and meerly by accident — and I am sorry I shoud mistake in observing that punctilio — I thank you for the inclination you express for the increase of my salary. It is not a little unlucky that it shoud meet with obstruction from the Chair — I thank you for your present of M^r Rowland's Sermon² which is an honest well meant discourse, but it is so long since & nothing remarkably striking & coming at a time when there was a great prospect of the Ministry being changed — I did not think it proper to present it to M^r Conway — Whatever introduces economy among you must be attended with certain advantages, & the more of it prevails without noise or bustle, the more likely it is to make an impression on the Ministry here

¹ Doubtless Charles Townshend, who died September 4, 1767.

² Doubtless the Rev. David Sherman Rowland's Divine Providence Illustrated and Improved, a sermon preached in Providence, Rhode Island, on June 4, 1766, on the repeal of the Stamp Act.

You may rely upon my steady zeal to serve the Province and am glad to embrace every opportunity to assure you of my steady friendship and esteem and am

Your most obed^t. humble Servt.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 24th dec^r 1767

THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^r

pr
Packet

Altho I have no particular appointment or instructions from you — the appointment of Secretary of State for America, is an event of so much importance; I thought it necessary to communicate it to your House.

The Person appointed is Lord Hillsborough, who has never discovered any particular affection for America

Whatever necessity you may be under of pursuing any fresh measures of Oeconomy; I humbly submit it to the Judgment of the House, if it will not be best done silently and quietly without ostentation & parade, which will give occasion to your Enemies to construe it setting your mother Country at defiance

Whenever you honour me with any further commands they shall be punctually observed by

Your obed^t. humble Servant

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 12 March 68

Wrote pr Pacquet to M^r Cushing, that I had rec^d his fav^r of 30th Jan^y & 3^d Feb^y — deliv^d the several Letters, should take a suitable time to present y^e Petition to the King — had long since presented a State of your Situation to Lord Shelburne¹ & should send a Copy of y^e same with y^e fresh Acts of Parlia^t.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Mar 18, 1768

I wrote you the 12th of this Instant p the Packet acknowledging the receipt of your several favours; acquainted you that I had deliverd the Letters committed to my care, and should take the first favourable oppor-

¹ De Berdt's memorial to Shelburne is printed below, pp. 448-450.

tunity to present your Petition to his Majesty — — You herewith have the several fresh Acts of Parliament relative to America, which I thought my Duty to send you by the first conveyance for your satisfaction — I likewise now send you Copy of a Representation which I drew up some time since; and deliverd to my Lord Shelbourne & some other of our friends, in which I rather chose to argue from the disadvantages, the late measures woud bring both upon America and the Mother Country, because such Arguments at present have by far the greatest weight here — At present the Kingdom is in a universal ferment from the general Election, as is always the Case on these occasions —

Whenever any thing happens, which may particularly concern you — I shall readily advise you of the same — I am with great Esteem —

Your most Obed^t & mo: Hum: Servant.

DE BERDT TO —

LONDON March 1, 1768

I am favoured with yours of the 30th of January acquainting me with your having a share in the Representations sent from the House by the same conveyance, and am exceeding sorry, you should have a foundation for so much uneasiness, which as I sensibly feel for you, you may depend on my utmost endeavours to remove — I am so fully of your opinion as to a free Representation among yourselves, that, whenever you lose it I suppose your Liberty must go along with it; but as there seems no probability of admittance to send Representatives here; I imagine we need not be yet alarmed — I always represent you in the light of good Subjects, strongly attached to his Majesty & Government, whenever I see occasion; and am very sorry for the removal of my Lord Shelbourne from the American Department, which is now made seperate and filled by my Lord Hillsbourough, who I wish may be as warmly attached to that Country — I have now sent to the Speaker ¹ the Acts of Parliament relative to America, one which seems to me strangely inconsistent, as it gives an Appeal to a 2^d Court in the Colony where the offence may be committed, when there is no such thing as a second Court, or more than one in the same Colony — I should be glad of your opinion in this matter tho: in the mean time shall make particular enquiries how it may be explained — I thank you for your good opinion of my Conduct and am very glad to hear M^r Jackson has at last been rewarded for his services —

¹ Sir John Cust (1718-1770) was Speaker of the House of Commons, but doubtless De Berdt refers to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House — Cushing.

We have always maintained a friendly Correspondence — I leave it to your consideration whether it might not be expedient (as the Dissenters now do here in England) to present one of the Clerks of the House of Commons ten Guineas p^a annum to give early intelligence when any Act may be brought in which affects America — for these slid thro: the House without our having any notice of the matter. I am with friendly Esteem your most Obed^t & mo. h^{ble} Servant

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 27 1768

TO THE HBLE. T. CUSHING

Sent
pr
Scott¹

Since mine of the 18 March I am honoured with yours of the 19 Ap^l. & 11 Feb^y & think all you alledge concerning taxation for the purpose of raising a revenue exceeding just, & have delivered your Petition² to L^d Hillsborough which he by no means thinks proper to deliver to his Majesty at present, however I thought it my duty to leave it with Him & urge the contents, who professes a greater regard for the Interest of America than I really expected. He thinks the only thing that can be done to serve you at present, is to keep the matter of Right out of Sight, & only consider the good or bad effects the present Acts will have on the Interest of G. B. & her Colonies.

There are very unreasonable prejudices prevail against America, both in the Ministry & Publ^k & by the Copy you sent me of L^d Shelburns Letter to Gov^r Barnard gives me reason to fear he also must have altered his sentiments with regard to American affairs, I could wish that things on your Side were carried on with a more steady & silent perseverance.

Ld Hillsborough highly approves of all your schemes of Oeconomy & thinks you judge exceedg. right to pursue them & declares he would with the greatest pleasure act for the good of America, but he says his hands are tyed by the strenious opposition to your claim of Right

There are very warm debates in Council concerning America & the measures to be taken therewith, there is some talk of send^g another Regmt. of Foot to America which I should be glad might be overruled. To me it appears prudent, as you have so fully entered your protest with regard to your Right, to drop that dispute for the present, & I think your Rights cannot suffer thereby

¹ Capt. James Scott, commander of the brig Lydia. He afterwards married the widow of John Hancock.

² See p. 338 note, below.

I wrote in a letter¹ to a former Assembly when the Repeal of the Stamp act was in question, that there were three parties in the House one for inforcing the Law at all events, another for a repeal, on condition, of a previous bill to assert the Right of Parliam^t over America, the third for a repeal without any Conditions, but that party had not weight to carry anything without a coalition with the other it is pretty much the same now & I apprehend extends itself to the privy Council

Please to make my Duty acceptable to the House & assure them I have a gratefull sense of the honorable mention they make of me in their vote & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 27th 1768

To THO^s CUSHING Esq^r

SIR

I read yours of 18th April & have wrote to the House by this Ship as I wou'd not be wanting in anything which might give the them satisfaction, I entirely approvd of your Oeconomy & doubt not in the end it will prove to your advantage. pr
Lidea
Scott

The Merchants of New Y. do still import goods from England but if the Shackles under which Trade labors be not soon removed remitances will be so Slow & precarious Yt the Wheels of Trade will stop of themselves, & must be felt in the decay of our Manufacturers, — I thank you for the copy of y^r Journal² last year & have desired you to thank the House for the notice they have taken of me therein as well as for the pecuniary donation they voted me — I see in those Votes several attempts of the counccills joining with the House in the Choice of an Agent, which w^d certainly go with more weight to the Ministry, then the Agent of one House only & in reality *no* regular deputation I am Sir with great Esteem & Friend^p

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON June 27th 1768

To SAM^l. ADAMS Esq^r

SIR

I have not lately been favord with any letter from you, we are still in high debates about American affairs, & the matter of Rights on both sides warmly contested, I, am fully of your opinion that no Man or pr Scott

¹ See De Berdt's letter to S. White of February 15, 1766, p. 312, above.

² See Massachusetts House Journals, December 9, 1766, p. 219.

body of Men have a right to take the Money out of an American pocket without their consent & think the farmer in his Letters ¹ has very pertinently & judiciously represented the case, & doubtless Trade must suffer by these altercations, your schemes of oeconomy are exceeding right & approved of by the Ministry here, & will doubtless have a good effect, if they are carried on with a prudent perseverance & you keep clear of an ostentatious parade on which you too much bordered I am

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON June 27th 1768TO SAM^l DEXTER ESQ^rpr Lidia
Scott—

I duly received yours of the 1st of March, & my Lord Shelburne being now out of the American department I tho't it more material to talk over the matter with L^d Hillsborough who succeeds him, & hope I have satisfied him, with regard to your character Temper & Conduct.

The proposal of the Councill to join with the House in chusing an Agent, I am sorry was not complied with as union strengthens every society, & Lord Hillsborough intimated to me, such a choice woud be agreeable to the Ministry for he was pleas'd to say at present I was in reality no Agent at all, being only chose for a particular purpose which choice terminated with the fulfillment of the commission tho you have done me the honor since that to employ me in several important services

Pray present my Comp^{ts} to Mr. Sheaf & thank him for every instance of his regard toward me & am

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON July 6th 1768M^r RICH^d CARY ²D^r SR.pr
Lidia
Scott

Altho we wrote you by this opp^y in the way of Trade your several kind letters as well as paragraphs in those to the company demand a particular reply — I am sorry to find a spirit of contention still remains between the Gov^r. & Assembly & tho the Councill I see by the votes of the House sent me, have several times proposed joining with the House in the choice of an Agent they have as often refused, I can only go with

¹ John Dickinson's Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies.

² See p. 304 note 2, above.

the weight of Agent for the lowest House, instead of Agent for the whole Province — American Affairs seem greatly in confusion occasioned by a mistaken apprehension, that it was the clamour of the Colonies was the cause of the Repeal of the Stamp Act & think an opposition to the present laws will be as successful, whereas the Enemies of America represent it as faction & disloyalty. I waited on L^d Hilsborough with the petition from the House to the King which I left in his hand which he did not think proper to present at this juncture, he assures me a a real friend to America & was desirous of serving it, but the warm contest about the Right of Taxation did at present throw upon him insuperable Difficulties, his own words were, "His hands were tied & he did not know what course to take," he commended all your schem's of Oeconomy thinks them perfectly right, but thinks the manner of your proclaiming your resolutions imprudent, & I cannot but think in that particular his Lord^{sh} is right

I cant but commend the Noble spirit of Liberty which prevails thro' the Colonies & approve of the sentiments of the Farmers letters, & realy believe some moderate people have been convinced thereby, tho' on the other hand warm spirits have been further irritated. I cou'd wish the matter of right, now it has been so nobly asserted, was kept out of sight for a time till heats are a little subsided & content ourselves with endeavoring to redress the grievances which lye on Trade to which Ld. Hilsborough dont seem aware, he says they talk of sending another Regiment of soldiers to Boston, which I think may be overuled & not executed, but it is not easy for you to conceive except you was present what a turbulent spirit prevails both in doors & out — We have a great loss by the death of M^r Cook,¹ who never was well after the election, when he underwent a great deal of fatigue. happy people you which at present are clear of such incumbrances for further particulars I refer you to Mr. Sayres — & am with Great Esteem

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON July 29th 1768

TO THE COMMITTEE OF MERCHANTS AT BOSTON

Immediately on the receipt of yours attended with a Number of Affidavits of the late commotion at Boston, I drew up a Memoria. of the case annexed several affidavits thereto, & presented it to L^d Hilsborough, who had heard the affair from the Gentleman who came over in the Ship

¹ George Cooke, Member of Parliament for Middlesex, died in June, 1768.

which brot your Letter, I said all I coud to soften my L^d by representing to him the outrage you complain'd of, which he thinks was agravated by the Letter to the Gov^r, I have not seen

It is unhappy such a thing shou'd arive at such a critical season when American affairs are in great agitation & I fear will produce some disagreeable circumstances you may depend on my utmost endeavors to serve you & am with great Esteem

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 29 1768

To HBLE THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

Since my last I have rece'd none from you but several interesting affairs have arose which I thot it my duty to accqt. the House altho they are of a disagreeable Nature — I have lately had a long conference with L^d Hilsborough relating to your circular letter, to the other provinces, which greatly displeases the administration some of whom say it is little better than an incentive to Rebellion but they look upon it as the sentiments of a party, only as it was rejected in full house the begining of the sessions, & taken up again at the end of it when the house was thin altho I can perceive nothing unjust or unreasonable in it, yet if some healing measures are not adopted consequences may be very serious, you may expect two regiments from New York, quarter'd upon you & my L^d mention'd another to be embark'd, & says it has been resolved in Council that Gov^r Bernard have strict orders sent him, to insist upon your revoking that letter & if refused by the House he was immediately to dissolve them, upon their next choice he was to insist on it again & if then refused he was to do the like, & as often as the case shou'd occur, my L^d assured me of his great regard for America, nay said if I did not represent it to you I should not do him justice, he wished nothing so much as a good understanding between the Colonies & their Mother Country & assured me that before the warm measures on your side taken had come to their knowledge, he had settled the repeal of these Acts with L^d North, but, the spirited opposition you had made, rendered it absolutely necessary to support the authority of Parliament which the Ministry at all events are determined to do, you may depend on my strictest attention to your affairs when ever you please to give me any fresh instructions & you think anything further necessary to be represented to that Noble Lord, who declares himself very averse to any severe measures & thinks him^s very unhappy that he has undertook the American department

when the affairs are in such a convulsion & has condescended to assure me that when ever I have anything farther to urge I should have free access to him — I remain with¹

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON July 29th 1768TO SAM^l ADAMS ESQ^r

I receivd you by a friend² to whom I shall shew every civility in my power, my sentiments agree with yours respecting American affairs things here are going into a great perturbation, as I have particularly advised your House by the Speaker, which he will undoubtedly lay before them & to which I refer you & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 26 1768TO THE HNBLE T. CUSHING ESQ^r.

I duly recd. yours of the 30th June from the house accompanying a long letter for L^d Hilsborough, which I yesterday delivered to him, & which his Ld^{sp} will answer very soon, to which I refer you for his particular sentiments. I was with him a full hour talking over your American affairs, which now seem to be under a necessity of being regulated by Parliam^t when they sit, it being neither in the Ministrys power nor even the King himself either to dispense with the Laws or revoke them

pr
White's
Copy pr
Packett

The whole Ministry seem united in this one point that when a Law passes the Legislative power it becomes part of the Constitution & therefore not to be dispensed with or opposed that I wish in all your applications you had left the matter of right out of the question, & only apply'd for a repeal of the Law, as prejudicial to the Colonies & Mother Country & my L^d assured me he wou'd have now his interest for a repeal & he believes he should have obtained it, which now with him is become a matter of doubt — his Ld^{sp} is fully sensible the mischief which will arise from a breach with the Colonies & dreads the consequences. Law, he says must either be supported or we sink into a state of anarchy which he thinks must be avoided at all events. I mention'd the measure of sending troops to America which my L^d said when about this time

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 524-526. It is printed in Massachusetts State Papers, pp. 160-161.

² Edward Church: see Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 213.

³ Probably Capt. Benjamin White.

arrived I expressd my fears that some arbitrary transactions of the Military might be in danger of inflaming the people his Ld^{sh} assured me they had strict orders to preserve the peace & act on every occasion in concert with the Civil Magistrate, & you might depend no measure would be taken but what was entirely constitutional & executed with as much lenity as the case would admit. I have given you out of a tender regard to y^r welfare a summary of wht pass'd with that Ministry, & doubt not but y^t prudence will make a proper use of it.

Your petition to the King I reserv'd as I wrote you word, for a favorable opp^y to deliver, but the next ship bringing the petition in the public papers, I thot it necessary to have it with L^d Hillsborough, tho' not in form, & he has assured me he has shewed it to the King & shou'd do so by the Letter you sent him & of every circumstance relating to your affairs, & seems to be exceeding frank & open in his conduct & renewed his declaration that he had a hearty concern for the welfare of A & shou'd promote it by every measure in his power agreeable to the honor of the Legislature — I make dutifull Regards to the House & assure them I am deeply affected with their condition and shall do all in my power for their relief & am Your Obligd & Obedt.¹

¹ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 527-529. It is printed, but dated August 29, 1768, and lacking the final paragraph, in Massachusetts State Papers, pp. 160-161. So many petitions to the King were adopted that it is not always easy to distinguish between them. One was voted January 20, 1768 (Massachusetts House Journals, pp. 122, 124, app. pp. 1-3); another was voted June 30, 1768 (Massachusetts House Journals, pp. 95-96). That of January 20 caused De Berdt much trouble, and perhaps accounts for some of the dissatisfaction already noted (pp. 298-299, above). In the Massachusetts Gazette of November 3, 1768 (p. 1/2), it is stated that the "*Transactions of the Colonies having peculiarly attracted the Attention of the Public in England: the public Papers in London of the latter End of August are taken up with Accounts*" of various matters. After mentioning some of these, the writer goes on to say:

As [misprint for At] the End of these Publications is inserted the following Advertisement, which we shall print Word for Word as it is in the Gazeteer, of August 26, 1768.

WHEREAS it has been publicly reported that the Earl of Hillsborough has neglected to deliver a petition from the Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay to his Majesty, at a time when his Lordship had not even seen the said petition, I think it my duty to inform the public that such insinuations are entirely groundless. My reasons for any delay and proceedings therewith, I have duly given the Assembly in my letters to them of the 12th and 18th of March, and 27th of June.

DENNYS DE BERDT.

De Berdt's advertisement was also printed in the Boston Post Boy, November 7, p. 2/1; Boston Evening Post, November 7, p. 2/2; Boston News Letter,

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t 26 1768To THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r

I duly received yours of the 13th July — the Ministry here have a very different apprehension of your circular Letter,¹ that however the measure may be adopted by the other Colonies it will never be of any service to you here, & therefore it wou'd have been better if it had not been taken, tho I am pleased with the mild reply your house have made to L^d Hillsboroughs Letter which he has promised me to answer soon. The forces that are sent is only with an intent to preserve the peace, & act in concert with the Civil Magistrate — If all the provinces on the Continent shou'd petition the King to repeal the Acts it is not in his power to repeal or suspend any act of Parliament — You must have recourse to the Parliament itself.

Copy sent by
the Thames
13 Sep.

It is with bodies of Men as well as with private persons when there passions are once inflamed, its difficulty to preserve them from outrage & outrage always widens the breach — The Ministry are sensible of the importance of the affair, as I have wrote in my Letter to your H — I join with you in sincere wishes that the union of the M.C. & her C.² may be preserved & all differences conducted with temper & prudence. 'tis indeed a critical season & needs wisdom from above to bring things to a comfortable issue, Yr. most humble

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Aug^t 26, 1768.To R. CARY ESQ^r

I rec^d yours of 12th July, & at the same time a letter from L^d Hillsborough you mention which I delivered yesterdy. & indeed its couched

Copy pr
Watt³

November 10, p. 2/2; Boston Gazette, November 14, p. 2/2; Boston Chronicle, November 7-14, i. 435/3. See also Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, iii. 209 note; American Gazette, p. 289; Boston Gazette, November 21, 1768, p. 3/1.

The Boston Evening Post of November 21, 1768 (p. 4/2), contains a letter signed "The Public," addressed "*To Mr. DENNYS DE BERDT, Agent for the General Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay,*" copied from the Public Advertiser of August 31st. This letter was written by Franklin: see Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, iii. 474, where the letter, being without date, is conjecturally assigned to "1770. September?" See also pp. 330, 331, 332, above.

¹ This was dated February 11, 1768.

² That is, the mother country and her colonies.

³ Probably Capt. Alexander Watt.

in very moderate terms which I was pleas'd to see, & my L^d has promised me to write a particular answer with his own hand which when received from his L^d^{sh} I shall immediately transmit to the House — You are intirely right in your moderate way of thinking & point out the only way redress can be obtain'd vizt. submitting to the Laws till a repeal can be obtain'd by dutifull remonstrance & unless some of your warm spirits a little subside things will certainly go to extremities, for the Ministry & I believe I may say the Nation are resolved to support the Authority of Par^t. & the matter of Right must now be out of question, & the inconvenience of the late acts to both Countries must be the motive on which they proceed & the right way of application must be by petition to Parliament as I have wrote to M^r Cushing in a private capacity — We have a Melancholy prospect before us & great wisdom is necessary to extricate us from under these difficulties — I had yesterd^y an hours conversation with L^d H. & he assured me tho' troops are sent & by this time he thinks must be arrived¹ yet they have strict orders to preserve the peace & act under the Civil Magistrate, & that no unconstitutional method shall be taken & every thing transacted with as much civility² as the nature of the thing will admit.

When all my letters come to hand, the house will see I have not been so negligent in writing as you imagine, but being a recess of P^t. nothing material could be transacted for it is not in the power of a Minister to dispense with or repeal Laws — I don't wonder Gov^r B should speak slightly of me tho' I never took any part in their disputes — You justly fear alterations in your Charter for I believe the general Court will not sit again unless they recind their Letter.³ It is surprising the Treasurers in all this time should not be able to get a bill of exchange the remittance would be very acceptable. I shall send a copy of this by the Pact as you desire — & am

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sep^r 16, 1768

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r.

SIR

In hopes that your House will soon be permitted to sit again I write to you in your public capacity that you may inform the hon^{ble}

¹ They arrived September 28.

² Perhaps "lenity."

³ The circular letter of February 11, 1768: see Publications of this Society, viii. 95 note 1.

⁴ Probably the copyist's mistake for "Nov." There is a copy of this letter, but dated November 16, 1768, in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 546-549.

House that the petition has long since reached the Royal Ear as I have several times been assured by L^d Hilsborough and he express'd a Surprise that anybody should dare assert the Contrary, all the altercations concerning the delivery of it was occasion'd by little difficiencies in official forms which did not at all enter into the merrits of the case he also makes the like objections against my Agency as being a former one, on a special Occasion & not yet reviewd or confirm'd. his Lordship has made objections of the like nature to several other Agents & seems to think the Correspondence would be best carried on with the Governors directly

The order for your Rescinding the Circular Letter meets with objections among some of your friends here & will not run so smooth as the Writer expected

The Applications for redress of Grievances are near universal, what reception they will meet with is yet in Suspence, but Certainly a Calm prudent moderate temper in supporting them will greatly conduce to their efficacy — though the ministry dont appear to be pleas'd with the universality of the petitions.

We have had a meeting of the Several Agents to consider the most effectual way of application for your relief but don't yet know which will be pursued — You may rely ever Oppor^t to Serve you I shall carefully embrace.

The Riots are taken in a very strong light by the Ministry & are made use of greatly to your disadvantage tho I made the best use I could of the accounts & affidavits sent to me & believe they will be laid before our parliament and hope if your tranquility continues, good part of the Troopes will soon be remov'd

I shall continue my warmest Solicitations with y^e friends of America to remove every difficulty that intercepts the harmony & affection between Great Britain & her Colonies whose Interest I always esteemed inseperable

Tho the friends of America seem to increase, yet there is a powerfull opposition which will occasion very warm debates in the Senate & God only knows the event

I have receiv'd the two years Salary the former House allotted me of which favour I have a gratefull sense and am with the highest esteem &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LOND^o Nov^r: 15, 1768M^r RICH^d CARY

Our D. B has rec^d y^e £600 from M^r Gray¹ but at 60 d^s sight however he is glad it is come at all — He is very sorry to see y^r public affairs in such confusion but thinks the Convention² was a very prudent measure tho' the Town meeting which call'd it was rash and the Resolutions so strong that some here call it Treasonable and the Case is now before Council whether he can or ought to present a petition to his Majesty coming from Such an Assembly. — he does not wonder at any ill naturd pens as he thinks he has kept a long while clear of being a party man Your former Governor Pownal warmly Interests himself in your affairs and fear he is of no Service of any side the water and perceive is far from being a Friend of his but shall act uprightly in every thing relating to the Good of the province and defy Malignity

I find the dispute about Quartering the Troops has been amicably settled which gives me pleasure — There is a very bad spirit on both sides which must subside before anything can be brought to a Happy Issue things are carryed with a very High hand by the Ministry and they seem at present resolved to Support the Gov^t. the affair will soon come before the House where you have some friends who will warmly oppose violent measures and others as strongly pursue them — every ship will bring you very Interesting accounts and you and M^r Cushing may rely on frequent advices from our D. B. we had a meeting of the agents of the Different Provinces last night in order to unite our application for the good of America to which he will strictly attend tho believe the Ministry will not be pleas'd with our Conveening as Union seems disagreeable to them Our D:B desires to be thankfull that he goes thro' the continued fatigue much better than he could expect, and thinks his health recruited by the Summer — Lord H——s rescinding Order gives great Offense to some. Our D: B hopes you will soon have your Assembly sit again to whom he writs fully by this Conveyance as well to M^r. Cushing as Chairman of the Committee we remain with great esteem &c

D: B & S.³

¹ Harrison Gray, Treasurer of the Province.

² The convention was held September 22–29. For the petition to the King and Richard Jackson's opinion on it, see Massachusetts Papers, pp. 108–113.

³ De Berdt and Sayre.

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

Nov: 16:

SAMUEL ADAMS ESQ:

I have before me your favor of 3 Octo: giving me an account of Quartering the Troops of which I will make the best use in favor of the Town of Boston, to have Troops quartered in the city will certainly be a great unhappyness as it must tend to the Debauching the people However I hope if all continues quiet you will soon have good part of them removed — It was magnified accounts of the Riots of which the Ministry gave Credit that occasion'd their being sent I hope therefore prudence will be us'd in all your Conduct that your Enimys may gain no advantage, — which they certainly will take if they can find an opportunity — I am so crowded with your public Business and numerous applications to ye known friends of America that I have hardly time to advise you that I am — D:B

DE BERDT TO HARRISON GRAY

16 Nov^r. 1768HARRISON GRAY ESQ^r

I received yours of the 3^d October by Capⁿ. Scott inclosing a Bill for £600 on George Haley¹ Esq^r which is accepted and I doubt not will be duly honourd it is indeed a long time since the grant was made and the Bill now a long sight but suppose you did the best you could. I am &c.

D: B.

DE BERDT TO JOHN HANCOCK

JOHN HANCOCK ESQ^r

S^r. I received yours inclosing several newspapers and will make the best use I can of them; but news papers sho'd allways be given to the Capⁿ not put in the Bagg the postage being Considerable I am &c — D: B:

¹ George Hayley, at one time alderman of London, died in 1781. He married Mary Storke, widow of Samuel Storke and sister of John Wilkes. Mrs. Hayley came to Boston in 1784 and here married Patrick Jeffrey in 1786.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING ¹LONDON Nov^r 18th. 1768To THO^s. CUSHING Esq^r.

Yours I receivd of the 1st & 22 Sep^r. what I said to Lord Shelbourne was in order that your House might have an answer to their Letter from *him* which I tho't woud be more agreable than from the New Secretary L^d H. The Ministry have very different apprehensions of the Riot in March last — by the acc^t. they have had they look upon it as opposing authority itself. however it is not the only fact that is represented to them by different persons in a different light — I laid the case with the affidavids before the Secretary who talks of bringing them into Parliament — L^d Hilsborough assures me as I have wrote you before, that instead of the Military power controuling the Civil, they shoud act under their direction, however I hope now they are quietly landed & probably quarter'd as there will be no reason for them they will soon be removed which will give me great satisfaction — Your Town Meeting was certainly disorderly & in some respects culpable, but the Convention was well meant & I believe had very happy effects

I think you will soon have your Assembly restored, which will be a healing measure — I am making my utmost efforts with the friends of America to serve you & the last time I met a number of them I have the satisfaction to assure you that they inform me the House was coming about in favor of America very fast tho' the House was at first greatly alarm'd by His Majesties Speech

There has been strange reports concerning your former petition to the King, which I wrote you long ago was delivered to L^d Hilsborough but he never sent any message to me about it but as I have before inform'd you it came to hand in the time of our Election when all the Kingdom was in confusion (& on my waiting on the several Gentlemen to whom your House wrote they were out of Town) You wil judge very right that my attention to the welfare of your House woud not admit of my neglecting any opp^y to serve them & have ever done it with Zeal & Affectⁿ My L^d Hilsborough has more than once or twice assured me the King has seen Your Petition & the difficiency in official forms did not in the least retard it which will with the rest of the Colonies petition be brought before our Parliament — I see the justness of all your reasonings & so

¹ This letter was printed in part in the supplement to the Boston Gazette of January 23, 1769, p. 1/2.

does several of your Friends in the House & it is apprehended either Your Gov^r or L^d Hilsb^h having been guilty of some mistakes which I hope will be soon set in a true light — I am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Novr. 19th 1768

To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r }
CHAIRMAN }

SIR I receiv'd yours as Chairman of the late Convention covering a Petition from them to His Majesty which you desir'd might be delivered to him in person which is not the way of any Petitions in business coming to His Majesty, I was so diffident of my own Judgment that I not only ask'd the opinion of several friends of America, but took the advice of Council, all whom advise me to deliver it to the Secretary of State as the most effectual method to have it attended to, on which I have attended L^d Hilsborough several times and to day I had his resolution, that he would neither accept it nor reject it untill he had consulted the Cabinet and in a few days will give me his Answer — was it deliver'd to his Majesty in person it never more could be call'd for, but being deliver'd to the Secretary, it is liable to be call'd for at any time by the House — his Lordship deems the Convention an illegal Assembly and by the tacking it with the Town-meeting esteems it ever Treasonable — — When I was wth L^d Hilsboro^h last week your former Gov^r Pownal was present & urged my delivering it in person so vehemently and I may say indecently that made me resolve not to trust my own Judgment as I hinted before but to take a Council's opinion, he seem'd very warm and officious, whether he is a real friend to America or no is best known with you — — I really have taken a great deal of pains to traverse this affair, but hope as it is known to all the world and acknowledged by L^d Hilsborough that the Petition from the House has long since reach'd the Royal Ear — this will be of less importance, but I shall take every step in my power that it may be presented to His Majesty — but thot it very Strange to day when his Lordship inform'd me that he had seen the Convention petition in *print*¹ before I offer'd it to him which was the day after I receiv'd

¹ In a letter to Sayre dated February 20, 1769, Cushing says: "Mr. De Berdt writes the 19th Nov. that his Lordship informed him that he had seen this Petition in Print before he offered it. His Lordship must be under a mistake if he means that he saw it in any of our public Prints because I am sure it never has been printed on this side the Water, what ever it may have been on your side" (Massachusetts Papers, p. 119). An examination of Boston papers confirms Cushing's statement.

it, from hence you may see the inconvenience in immediately putting every thing into print — — All the Circumstances of the State of the Colonies will be laid before the parliament and I am not without hopes of your obtaining relief for which I shall be glad to contribute to the utmost of my ability

As to the Convention itself it was certainly a prudent measure and had a salutary effect and you judg'd exceeding right to disclaim all authoritative & Governmental Acts which I have strongly urg'd in your favour and as you observe if cool reason prevail'd and there was a mutual good understanding between the Mother Country & her Colonies, harmony & Affection might be restor'd to the advantage of both which is the hearty desire of y^r most obed^t hum^e Sert.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Octo^r 5th 1768

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

(omitted in due place)

SIR

I received yours in your private & friendly Capacity and write to you in the same Capacity, as there is now no House Subsisting and you will inform me when I must alter my Style or to whom to write in a publick Character — Your sentiments are exceeding just and entirely agreeable to my own & I think the only method you have immediately to take is to percevere in your scheme of oeconomy with silence & steadiness intill the Enemies of America *feel* their error and alter their Conduct

It appears to me that the scheme is to provoke the Common people to some acts of violence which may be turn'd to your disadvantage in which I hope they will be disappointed and if the Officers commit any unprovok'd outrage you may find redress in our Courts in England, when they return and defend your rights in Westminster Hall — in the mean time you & the whole Continent are perfectly right to petition for Redress — — The whole of your affair will be laid before the next Session of our Parliament against which time you may prepare addresses to the House itself unless the dissolution of your House throws an insuperable difficulty in the way — that from Virginia is already arriv'd, to be deliver'd in proper time is yet a *Secret* but I have seen a Copy and is ex-

¹ A copy of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives, xx. 530-533.

ceedingly loyal and spirited — Petitions from several other Colonies will be ready at the same time — I have also received your Commissioners instructions¹ which are so extensive as to give room for great abuses and unlimited number of new Officers. I shall impatiently wait for frequent advices from you how things go on, that I may set them in a true light here tho I think the friends of America increase upon the measures that have been pursu'd and I shall make your letter publick that the insulting conduct of the military men may appear to the whole nation, & am &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

Dec^r 7, 1768THO^s CUSHING

SIR

I wrote to you 18 & 19 of Nov. to which please to be refferd since which I received yours of 29 October covering your Councils address to Gen^l. Gage w^h his answer in print which I Imediatly sent up to Lord Hilsborough for fear he should see it in print before I could put it into his hands — — Yesterday I had that Lords final answer to your Convention petition that he would not receive it coming from an unlawfull assembly, in which refusal he says he had concurrence of the whole Administration, the papers relating to America are to be laid before the house to day and are to be considered on Friday I shall make the best use I can of your Convention petition as it is couched in very decent Terms and hope by some Friend to get it before the House. I observe what you write in respect to the Revenue and the Expençe that attends the Collecting of it and was always of opinion that the Neat proceeds w^od be a very puny sum which I have often urged to the promoters of Taxation — The agents of America frequently meet to consult the properest measures for the Relief of the Colonies — Lord Hilsborough declared yesterday he was gainst severe measures but that the dignity of the Administration must be preserved I would advise by all means to keep things as quiet as possible while you pursue your schemes of oeconomy and am very glad a Gentleman of Gen^l Gages temper & Candour is with you on the spot, to be witness of your Temper & Conduct, who doubtless will write accounts home more favorable than have been

¹ "A Letter from a Gentleman in Boston," dated August 18, 1768, encloses "one of the Commissioners Commissions," and mentions the receipt of a copy of Sayre's "Englishman deceived." See the American Gazette, p. 127, where also are printed (pp. 112-120) the Commissioners' instructions.

already transmitted and be a means of relieving of you of many of your difficulties, and of restoring a settled tranquillity which will afford great satisfaction to &c

DENNY DE BERDT.¹

P.S. This moment I reced yours of 28 October and am fully sensible of the difficulties you lay under and wish them removed I did when Lord Hillsborough mentiond sending Troops express my fears that they would rather be a means of breaking the peace than preserving it however it is a measure the ministry adopted and not to be overruled by any Interest I think the people have done very prudent in leaving of the use of Tea, and every other measure of oeconomy for the Ministry here must be made to feel the inconveniency before they will be reasoned into it & by General Gages arrival with you I hope things will be made more easy & by his Just representations of your Temper & Conduct home the Ministry will view you in a better light & ease your Burthin you will find some part of your letters answered by the forgoing and as you yourselves have been grosly misrepresented here it is no wonder I have been misrepresented to you, and if I was less zealous in your service I might escape more reflections, and have more esteem with the Ministry, but a sower of sedition among brethren the Lord hates I wish you could have sent me a Copy of the Councils petition to the King that I might have made some use of it among your Friends — I am &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

RIC^d CAREY Esq^r.

I duly received yours of 26 October, and am very sensible of the difficulties you lye under for want of a General Court when such a number of Troops are quartered upon you & am fully convinced there is no occasion for them but the measures of the present ministry are attended w^h too much violence, and the information they have received from your quarter are very partial but as you observe your strength is to stand still you have some friends in both houses which will do their utmost to serve you & your submitting to the Lawes till your burthin can be removed will be greatly in your favor — I never published any petition that that came to my hand I have fully informed the House of my delivering it — I am oblig'd to the public for their regard to me and I should have more weight with the Ministry if I less Zealous in serving the Colony

¹ This is not an autograph signature.

I think your leaving of drinking Tea is very prudent and every other method of oeconomy you can pursue I am gld to hear you give such a discription of G^d Gage and all about him & hope he will write such favorable accounts home as will be greatly to your advantage for your conduct has certainly been very grosly misrepresented which has had a bad influence on the ministry — the American papers today are to be delivered to both houses and to be considered on Friday after which I shall take the first opportunity to give you a more parlar acct.

My Lord Hillsborough has absolutely refused receiving the convention petition as it comes from an illegal assembly If Gov^r Barnard brings over the same Temper he has discovered w^h you his arrival can be of no avail

The Councils adress to Gen^l Gage is wrote w^h great moderation & Temper & I have sent it to Lord Hillsborough to come with the rest of the papers before the House today — There is a Talk out of Doors of a Change in the Ministry but I can learn nothing certain I understood Mr. Hollowell ¹ has made an Affidavitt of the nit in Boston very different from the 12 affidavits ² sent to me, and gains Credit among some of your friends and while the Ministry receive their Intelligance either from Revenue or Milatry officers they are in great danger of being misled

The agents of the several Colonies meet frequently to confer together that their applicaion may be more uniform & weighty — Six of us waited yesterday on my Lord in a Body & were received with great politness & asured he was for gentle methods for settling the dispute between us & the Colonies but the Dignity of authority must be preserved & if you on your side preserved tranquility all wod Issue well — &c

DE BERDT TO CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 2^d 1769

TO THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r. —

Since my last The Colonies petitions & Letters have been laid before the House of Lords & several hash resolves been taken by them arising chiefly from Gov^r. Bernards representation of things, which has been too severe. a few Lords spoke in your favor among which were the Dukes of Richmond & L^d Shelbourne, the former left it with the House, whether

Pr
Packett

¹ The deposition, dated June 11, 1768, of "Benjn. Halliowell the younger, Comptroller of his Majesty's Customs at Boston," is printed in Massachusetts Papers, p. 74. Hancock's sloop Liberty was seized June 10, 1768.

² These affidavits, dated Jun^e 16 and 17, 1768, are printed in the American Gazette, pp. 101-112. Cf. Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 255, 257.

it was reasonable to censure a People unheard, & evidences arising from one side the question only.

I hope the resolves will be revised & in some respects altered by the Commons, L^d Shelburne said he had his sentiments in relation to America, & the charge which had been laid before them from thence, but he should reserve till an another opportunity when the affairs of America would come on in a more important Light. my Son or M^r Sayre, or both constantly attended the House of Lords at reading the papers, in order that we might have an exact account of what was contained in them amongst the resolves, there was one to address his Majesty to request he would send for the ring leaders of the petition, (as a Noble Lord was pleas'd to call it) to answer for their conduct, and be tried by an old Statute of Henry 8th. — which I think necessary to hint to you the whole case lies now before the House of Commons & as they are adjourn'd for the holidays it will not be proceeded upon till they sit again which will be in about 14 days, tho' I think affairs are so interesting it is necessary to write you by every packet — I was on Saturday. with L^d Rockingham, who is your steady friend, where I also met with M^r Dodswell¹ who is likewise much in your favor, & represented to them in the strongest manner I was able, the difficulties you are under he on my departure gave me the strongest assurances of his regard to America, & hoped things would be so settled, that we should both live to see the affection between England & her American Colonies established on a lasting foundation. I waited on several others of your friends who are at present out of Town for the Holidays but on their return shall make my utmost efforts to serve you

Notwithstanding this apparent severity, L^d Hillsborough assures me there is no design to hurt the Colonies but all your troubles arise from a faction which ought to be punished, I took the Liberty to assure that Minister, he was entirely mistaken & whatever he might now think he might depend upon it the issue would demonstrate that the *whole Continent*, were dissatisfied — You will easily perceive under the present circumstances of your affairs it is in vain to endeavour to have your Assembly call'd before your annual choice in April, but I hope the Affidavits which the Select Men² of Boston have sent me of the behavior of the Military, will be of service to get the troops removed, which I shall not fail to urge. In the repeal of the Stamp Act it was a very different application from the present, in the former the whole Ministry were on our

¹ William Dowdeswell (1721–1775), Chancellor of the Exchequer.

² See p. 352 note, below.

side but now it is the reverse when ever these Acts are repeal'd, the question of right must be kept out of sight which has been sufficiently arguments on both sides & the repeal must be on the foot of inexpediency which I wish may take place this Sessions, however I woud advise you to persevere in your pacific temper & to overcome evil with good, which will greatly facilitate the repeal, which on all hands is agreed to be reasonable, L^d Hillsborough himself, entirely disapproving of every one of them

It gives me a singular satisfaction that I can assure the Ministry, in all the pretended Riots, there was not the least opposition to the new taxes, nor to the Commissioners in levying them

The Select men have also sent a copy of the affidavit to Gov^r Pownal how far he is a friend to America you can judge better than I can here but apprehend he is pretty much under the influence of L^d Hillsborough — his brother¹ being first secretary to that Noble Man

As my Letters come to hand you will find I have not been negligent in giving you intelligence, tho' it has not been of so agreable a nature as I cou'd wish you may be assur'd I am

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Jan^y 2^d 1769.

TO THE SELECT MEN, AT BOSTON —

GENT^l —

I received your letter of 12 No^v. with sundry Affidavits relating to the misbehavior of the Military quartered among you which I immediately carried to L^d Hillsborough as it belong'd to his department when he told me he had seen them a few hours before from Gov^r. Pownal, who I apprehend is under the influence of that Noble Man, & what use he makes of them will be under his direction, which I heartily wish may prove to your advantage. I am fully sensible of your loyal dispoⁿtion but believe you have been greatly traduced, & the state you are now in is very deplorable, I feel indeed I feel for you I will make the best use I can of the Affidavits for your relief, I have put them into the hands of a Noble Man² who is your invariable friend, several others being out of Town for the Holidays I shall at their return endeavor to engage them also in your favor, — it is easy to perceive, that when the disturbances with you have been mention'd they have always been aggravated,

pr
Packett

¹ John Pownall.

² Lord Shelburne. See p. 353, below.

but when the conduct of the Officers & now of the Military have been represented, they are always greatly diminishd where the partiality lies I will not determine but this I am satisfied, you, are grosly misrepresented however time will bring truth to Light, & I hope your persevering in cool & moderate measures will prove your Enemies to be Lyars & demonstrate that the stay of the Troops with you is needless which I shall not fail to urge

I am on all occasions

To Joshua Henshaw, Mecht. in Boston.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Jan^y 3^d 1769

M^r RICH^d CARY

pr
Packett

According to your desire I shall continue writing to you by every packt. during the present fluctuating state of affairs. I received by the last ship a letter from the Select Men, with Affidavits¹ of the misbehavior of the Military, which I directly carried to L^d Hilsborough who made light of the information & said he suppos'd the Officers wanted a Negro Drumer or something of that sort which might occasion the report, & further that he cou'd not lay them before his Maj. in an official way, but had seen a copy of the same Affidavit sent by the Select Men to the late Gov^r Pownal, who talks of laying them before Parliament. I plainly see he is courting popularity with you, how far he deserves it you are best judges, it is my private opinion that he keeps in favor with the Ministry, in hopes by & by to obtain the Govern^t. when Gov^r Bernard has finish'd the Ministerial schemes & then resigns

American papers have been before the House of Lords by which it appears to that House, you are very culpable but as they have heard but one side of the question I am in hopes some more moderate sentiments may be adopted, my Son & M^r Sayre attended the House every day during the reading of the papers, after which the Lords came to

¹ On October 31, 1768, certain persons entered a complaint with the selectmen against Capt. John Wilson of the 59th Regiment "for practising on their Negro Servants to induce them immediately to enter into a dangerous conspiracy against their Masters, promissing them their freedom as a reward — whereupon M^r. Justice Ruddock was desired by the Selectmen to take the several Affidavits relative to the above mentioned complaint" (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xx. 313, 314). An account of the affair was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 7, 1768, p. 3/2.

some resolves not favorable to America but those particulars Mr Sayre himself will give you as he intends writing by this pack^t

It is report'd here that Colonel Dalrymple has wrote a letter which is much in your favor as it has not yet appeared I cannot tell the contents, the papers are now before the House of Commons, who do not sit till the 19th. hope then things will take a more favorable turn as you have many friends there —

In order to lose no time with the Select Mens affidavits, I sent them to Lord Shelburne (who is at his seat in Wiltshire) by a friendly hand, & I hope they will be of singular service to you, that Noble Man being your steady friend yet when he was in Administration he was sometimes oblig'd to swim with the stream, I waited on many more of your friends in both Houses but they were all at their Country Seats for the Holidays at their return shall again wait on them & urge your interests, I wou'd by all means advise you to preserve steadily in your schem's of Oeconomy, & carefully watch against anything that is of a tumultuous nature, which wou'd render the repeal more difficult, which will take place but whether this Session, is uncertain, & I am only in pain lest warm spirits tired out with delays should be guilty of some imprudencys, which will certainly be magnif'd here, & urged greatly to your prejudice

I am fully convinced the Commissioners need not have retired to the Castle, nor need the Troops been quarter'd in the Town while the Barracks were empty, but such was their orders, & therefore they who gave such orders ought to bear the blame.

I have not yet seen the Petition from the Council to the King which went thro' Gov^r Bernards hands directly to L^d Hillsborough I wish I had a copy of it, as the contents remain still a secret

The Philad^a. Merchants have sent a remonstrance¹ to the Mercht^s. in London (tho' they yet continue to import goods) requesting they woud interpose in their favor & a Committee has been chosen to take the Memorial into consideration, but nothing of importance has yet been done nor can be during the recess of Parla^t.

The Counties of Newcastle Sussex & Kent have by a vote of their Assembly appointed me^r their Agent² & sent me their Petition to the King for their relief in which they mention their concern at the suspension of

¹ This is printed in the American Gazette, pp. 218-225.

² The Boston Chronicle of November 7-14, 1768, contains this notice: "*Philadelphia*, Nov. 3. We are informed that the assembly of the three Lower counties of this province, have appointed Dennys de Berdt, Esq; their agent, in England, and have harmonized with their sister colonies, in petitioning the King, Lord and Commons for redress of the grievous burdens laid on America" (i. 434/1).

the Assembly of New York, the acct. of the Dissolution of your Assembly I apprehend by their taking no notice of it was not come to their hand, so now I think the whole line of Provinces have united in their application for relief

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON Jan^y, 9th, 1769.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES

pr
Capt
Faulkner

I received y^{rs} of 27th Oct^r accompanying a Petition ¹ to his Majesty which I next day deliver'd to Lord Hillsboroughs own hands to deliver to the King, the whole line of colonies have now petitions of the like nature lying before his Majesty which have been before the House of Lords & are now before the Commons

The several Agents have had various meetings in order to consult together for the good of the whole, which I have & shall constantly attend, as the Province of the Massachusetts to which I am also Agent being under peculiar difficulties & hardships demand peculiar attention

The matter of Right has been strenuously asserted on both sides the Water, & all that can be said on the subject exhausted & they will continue to be of different opinions, but with regard to the not exercising of that suppos'd right, & its inexpediency, I hope there will be numbers sufficient to maintain that opinion & procure a repeal, & I believe the sense of the Colonies are so well known that if this Act be repeal'd no future ministry will attempt another taxation Bill, these duties are allowed on all sides to be very injudicious & anticommercial & on that account ought to be repeal'd but whether that repeal will be this Session is uncertain, & your schemes of Oeconomy in the interim will certainly be of use to you

The Merchants of Phila^a. have sent a Memorial to the Merchants in London desiring their application to add weight to yours, of which I am clearly of opinion to make a trial but M^r Barclay ² is very cool, that it is yet uncertain what will be done, there being at present a short recess of Parliament.

My own sentiments are entirely with you & allways was of that way of thinking, for that which is in its own nature oppressive, cannot by any Law be made otherwise, & you may depend on my utmost endeavours

¹ This petition is printed in the American Gazette, pp. 240-243. De Berdt's letters to the Delaware Committee are of particular value, as so little has been preserved relating to the history of Delaware at that period.

² Probably David Barclay.

to obtain relief for the Colonies for I think them greatly injured, & you can much better provide for the charge of Govern^{nt} among yourselves than by any Law from us & increasing the number of civil officers will be very prejudicial to your liberties & therefore ought to be carefully avoided, but at present I believe it will be most prudent to keep the matter of Right out of sight & only urge the repeal on the footing of inexpediency, upon which the Agents for all the Provinces will proceed.

I hope as you have strenuously asserted your rights & therein behaved like true Englishmen, you will endeavour to keep clear of disturbances & Riots which will be turn'd to your disadvantage before a repeal can be obtain'd

I thank your House for the honor they have done me & the confidence they place in me, & you may rest assured that the true interest of America lies near the heart of

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 1st, 1769

To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r.

I wrote you the 2^d Jan^y by the Pack^t. a particular account of the State of American affairs with us since which there has been various proceedings in the House of Commons relating to the Resolves of the House of Lords, which were thoroughly canvas'd by a Committee of the whole House & in the conclusion were pass'd with very small alterations & I here enclose you the printed votes for your certain information, your Friends exerted themselves in your favor with a torrent of eloquence & substantial reasoning which nothing but numbers cou'd overcome, however when the report is made to the House it will be again argued by your Friends with a persevering steadfastness, altho' tis believed the Ministry do not intend to put them into execution, the chief unhappiness arises from the Ministry giving entire credit to everything wrote by Gov^r. Bernard, which no reasoning can stand against altho we have all the best speakers in the House on our side the question, who are true friends to Liberty.

The Merchants of Philad^a. have sent a Memorial to the Merchants of London to join their weight in application for a Repeal & at a meeting of that body, a Committee of 7 was appointed of which I was one to conduct that affair, we first waited on Lord Hillsborough who was very peremptory in his opinion that the Ministry woud not consent to a repeal this Session, which we urg'd by an hours conversation — however not content to abide by his opinion, I undertook to consult our friends in

the opposition if they tho't such an application expedient, and likely to be successful, I applied in the first place to M^r. Burke who wou'd not determine such an important affair by his single opinion but was so obliging as to take on himself the trouble of calling together & meeting a number of Friends & taking their Judgment in the case, who were almost unanimous in their opinion that the present was not a favorable opportunity for a Petition to Parliament (the rough draft of which I drew up & left with M^r Burke) as our Friends fearing this had not weight enough to carry it thro' & shou'd it be unsuccessful it would be prejudicial to the cause, & in pursuance to their advice we still wait for a more favorable moment — I sensibly feel the difficulties you are under, & have my fears that they will be still increased by the present measures for I wou'd by no means flatter you, into a presumptuous security nor woud I create any needless fears, but aim at giving you the most impartial view of things & woud advice you to the most cautious circumspection as I am persuaded you have enemies who watch for your halting, & woud gladly take advantage of any imprudence, & I am fully convinced of the difficulty & oppression you are under, & am sensible how difficult it is to prevent Mens passions from being kindled into a flame upon such occasions, & when once kindled how hard to extinguish

My continual solicitude on your behalf will make me watch every opportunity to obtain relief

I am much concern'd to see that Philad^a has not conform'd themselves to your resolution, but taking their spring assortment of goods but when they are received I believe they will take no more

We are here not without our difficulties which continue to accumulate which we hope before 'tis long will issue in the removal of those who caus'd them

As I have no House to address my letters to I commit this & my last to you to lay before them when they meet, with my dutifull regards, & assurances of my Zeal for their interest — & am ¹

P.S. to M^r Cushing —

I refer you to M^r Cary for a Pamphlet ² sent him for you, which contains exactly my sentiments of America, & you will find them nobly defended. The votes which intended to send you will not be out till after this ship sails

¹ This letter was printed in part in the Boston Gazette of April 10, 1769, p. 3/1, but dated February 5th.

² It is impossible to identify this pamphlet, but possibly it was Sayre's "Englishman deceived."

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Feb^y 2^d. 1769M^r R CARY —

Agreeable to your desire I wrote you by the last Packet which did not sail from Falmouth 'till the 21st & herewith send you a copy in hopes it may be with you before the original, since which American affairs have been further canvas'd before the House of Commons & they have confirm'd the resolutions taken by the House of Lords with very little alteration, altho' the debate lasted 'till 4 oC in the Morn^g — & our friends out did themselves in your defence, having all the best Speakers & strongest reasoners in your favor, but at last were over born by Ministerial numbers however our friends are resolv'd to debate it again when the proceedings are reported to the House which will be in a few days. I shall write you further by the next Ship as I have to day wrote fully to M^r Cushing for him to lay before the House at their next meeting in which I have given more amply account of affairs with us & wish I cou'd give you a more favorable representation but the Ministry declare against a repeal this Session & shoud it be delay'd I am much afraid the passions of Men will be so irritated as to make them fall into indiscretions, which must be very prejudicial to their interest, & shoud any opposition to Gov^{mt} as might be construed into an act of Rebellion which might forfeit their Estates, you have Enemies enough who woud be glad to purchase them which is a consideration worth your attention & I hope will be a little curb on the passions of Men, which are too easy to be inflam'd under oppression & woud weak the hands of your friends in obtaining relief

Pr Capt.
Lydes¹

You woud have been agreeably surprised, with the force of reasoning & eloquence your friends made use of on the occasion I here send you a pamphlet for M^r Cushing which when you have read you will please to deliver to him & it exactly contains my sentiments & gives me an agreeable surprise to see so much said on a subject which has been already exhausted on both sides the water

The Quakers (chiefly) in Philad^a have imported their Spring goods which sail this week, & then I apprehend they will come into the resolutions of N Y &c. The Com^{it}tee of Merchants which were chosen to manage the application first waited on L^d Hils^h — who gave us no encouragement to hope for a repeal this Session altho we urged it by an hour or two's conversation however I was not satisfied with his bare

¹ Capt. Nathaniel Byfield Lyde.

opinion resolved to take the opinion of our friends in the opposition from whom alone we cou'd depend for support, accordingly I waited on M^r Burke with a rough draft of a Petition I had drawn for the purpose, but he was kind enough to appoint & meet a number of our friends to consider of the affair who after debating it fully among themselves agreed it wou'd not be prudent to Petion at this juncture as they were of opinion they cou'd not carry it thro' the House & if it was not carried it would only expose their weakness — The Ministry carrying everything with a high hand gives a general disgust — which we hope will terminate in our favor — You cannot conceive the warmth of the contending parties except you was here to see it, however the Whigs, or friends to Liberty are also friends to America & woud be glad to treat you as bretheren & are quite dissatisfied with Ministerial measures which we hope will in time operate kindly which critical season when it arises you may be assured I shall carefully improve

Several of your old friends are gone into Ministerial measures particularly L^d Cambden¹ who now sees clearly the right of taxing America, Gen^l. Conway is grown old & indifferent, L^d Chatham now lies quite aside, & M^r Onslow, son of the late great commoner, is in the treasury, & the Duke of Grafton at the head of it, however some are still firm in their noble sentiments of Liberty, as Sir G. Saville² Col^a Barry³ M^r Burke M^r Dodswel M^r Montague⁴ &c &c of the House of Lords Duke of Richmond L^d Shelburne L^d Dartmouth remarkably zealous in the cause of liberty, all of whom I have waited on with a great deal of pleasure — There are now several ships going off weekly in nothing but balast for want of goods, by which you may depend on hearing from D^r Sir

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL DEXTER

LONDON Feb^y 2^d, 1769

SAM^l. DEXTER ESQ^r.

I received yours expressing your fears that some ill use might be made of your letters being shewn to L^d Shelburne but you may be entirely easy as he is a steady friend to America your letters were so full of good sense & moderation that no ill use can be made of them neither do I

¹ Charles Pratt (1714–1794), first Baron Camden and first Earl Camden.

² Sir George Savile (1726–1784).

³ Isaac Barré (1726–1802).

⁴ Probably Frederick Montagu (1733–1800).

remember any one of them being out of my own hand, as I wou'd be exceeding cautious not to do you the least prejudice.

I wish I cou'd give you a better account of American affairs but a repeal of the obnoxious laws is still in suspence & it is a question if they will be repeal'd this Session if they should not it behooves all that love the Country of America to watch against every measure that will expose them to the resentment of their Enemies, which are numerous — nevertheless you have some steady friends in both Houses which exert themselves to the utmost to procure you relief & I am always pleas'd with your letters & by a continuation of your friendly correspondence & will do every thing on my part to support it & am with very great esteem —
D^r S^r

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON Feb^y 2^d 1769

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES

I wrote you by Faulkner of the receipt of your Petition to his Majesty acquainting you I had delivered it according to your desire, but there has been nothing done since towards a repeal.

At the Meeting of Merchants a Committee of 7 were chosen to conduct an application for a repeal which I was one & took upon me to take the opinion of our friends in the House if they tho't they had strength to carry it thro', the Committee indeed before waited on L^d Hillsborough who gave us no encouragement that the Acts woud be repeal'd this Session altho we urg'd it by an hours conversation I had no better success with our friends altho' they had a respectable meeting of them & concluded this was not the proper time to petition for a Repeal however we keep the thing in sight to take the most favorable opportunity to lay it before the House, who at present have their hands full of several troublesome affairs, & the conduct of the Ministry in general are greatly disapproved, which we hope ere long will turn out in our favor

I must repeat my advice that you woud use your influence & keep the People from any illegal Acts which your Enemies will make use of greatly to your prejudice, & render it more difficult for your friends to serve you, which you may depend I shall do my utmost endeavor to accomplish

Boston at present bears the chief burthen which is very undeserv'd, for I believe them to be a very loyal & peaceable people, real lovers of their Mother Country, & who deserve better treatment, the House of Lords have come to some very harsh resolutions to which the Commons have assented, notwithstanding they were vigorously oppos'd by such a

torrent of eloquence & good sense, as nothing but numbers cou'd overcome, but it is tho't the Resolutions will never be put into execution, when anything new occurs you may depend on hearing from Your

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^A. Feb^V 11; 1769

THO^S CUSHING ESQ^R

I here inclose you y^e votes mention'd in my last whereby you will see the Commons have concur'd wth y^e Lords in their Resolutions. I was in hopes they would have been new modeled in passing thro' the Commons but *Numbers* still prevail. However y^e are not without warm & stedy friends in both Houses who are greatly griev'd at y^e hardships you are under — I waited yesterday on L^d Shelburn who is deeply impressed under a sense of your difficulties and says if he had been still in y^e Ministry he should have compos'd all your differences without any military force for when he was in y^e administration your Collony paid him the most respect & obliging conduct of any of y^e Colonies and will endeavour to serve you in every particular wherein he thinks it just to do it — The ministry seems confus'd and perplex'd & are intoxicated with very high notions of power which gives very great uneasiness here as well as the affairs of America — Yesterday y^e Livery of London meet to give instructions¹ to their Representatives which were of a very spirited nature in which they recommended their Care to encourage & promote Our trade to all the British Colonies the whole of which instructions must be displeasing to y^e Ministry — and now London has begun it is more than probable this method of instruction will run throughout y^e Greatest part of y^e Kingdom and I hope will have a good effect or least that it will Shew the general temper of the people to cultivate a good understandg. & Trade with America — I was also since my last with Col: Barry who is a hearty Zealous friend for the American Colonies & to y^e Massachusetts in particular He is very sensible of y^e Difficulties you are under & is ready at all times to exert himself in y^r favour —

I thot it necessary to write by every Ship as you must be extreemly anxious to know how things go on this side the water and shall send a Copy of this by another Ship that sails on monday and am with y^e greatest esteem &c.²

¹ The instructions are printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1769, xxxix. 73-75, 107. One of the Members of Parliament for London was Barlow Trecothick: cf. Notes and Queries, Eleventh Series, iii. 11, 330.

² There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 555-556. It is printed, but with some omissions, in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 194.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LOND. Feb: 11, 1769

M^r R^d CARY

This Ship being just going I have only time to inclose you todays paper containing a very extraordinary Letter which I hope will open the eyes of the publick & give American affairs a favourable turn — I have wrote more particulary to Mr. Cushing by this Ship to whom I refer you & am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON February 13th 1769

M^r CUSHING

I wrote to you in your Publick Capacity the 11 Ins^t. & sent copy to day inclosing the resolves of the House so far as they are already printed, & have only to add, that no Efforts of your friends on this side the Water will be wanting to procure you relief, & must recommend Temper & moderation to you in all your proceedings, least your Enemies should take some further advantage of your warm Zeal for Liberty.

I write this to you in a private Capacity under cover to M^r Cary, as we are timorous of our Lrs. being open'd, & here inclose you a News Paper containing a Lr of a very extraidnary nature, which I hope will open the eys of some who were not sensible of such a Scheme, for my part I always suspected it, nay my suspicions went further, that in Case your Enemies could provoke you to any Act of Treason or Rebellion they would take that opportunity to seize your Lands & thereby become proprietors of *your* Lands in America — In the same Paper you have the Instructions of the Livery of London to their Members by which you may plainly see the People are far from being satisfied wth. the present Administration, which I hope will be an event favorable to your Interest, burthens must be dispensed with untill we can obtain a Legal relief, which we are now in hopes of by the present Spirit that prevails thro the Nation.

On Wednesday the Committee of Merchants meet to Consider of a Petition for a repeal of these Noxious Laws, & hope they will be unanimous & successfull, & it is said there was Six Thousand Livery Men present, when the Instructions to their Members were approved of, from which you will undoubtedly observe the disposition of the People towards the relief of America.

I shall advise you by every opportunity of every Occurrence in your American Affairs & am with great regard &rs, &c.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON February 13, 1769

M^R RICH^d CARYD^R. SIR

I wrote you by the Last Vessel a few hasty Lines, covering a News paper with also a very extraordinary Nature which I hope will convince the People of England of that regular Scheme of oppression which has been formed of which I was always apprehensive, by which you will see the general dissatisfaction With the Ministry who has shew'd such an unseasonable resentment against you, which I hope will terminate in y^r favour.

I here inclose you a Lr for M^r Cushing which please to deliver to him, as I thought the Safest Convayance was the directing to you, as we have reason to think our Lrs. are opened — As I have already wrote you so largely this Month, I have only to add that I am

Your obedient

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 18th 1769THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r —

I here inclose you the Votes of the House of Commons containing their address to his Majesty & a Copy of his Majesties answer underneath which breaths the same temper which has run thro' this Session, however the most aggravated part it is declared is not intended to be executed & mere words which if not executed will remain a dead Letter — but it shews the temper of the Ministry & in faithfulness I dare not conceal from you any part of their conduct — I & several of your friends have made fresh application both to the Ministry & others to support a petition from the Merchants in your favor, but there is an obstinacy in the Administration not at present to be overcome, supported by them under the specious name of firmness, & I cannot see any present prospect of a Repeal

There is to be a fresh Mutiny bill this Year, & we as Agents propose to attend L^d Barrington¹ in a body to prevent if possible any clause in it which may be disagreeable to America You may depend on my embracing every opportunity of serving the Colony, & wish you all that Magnanimity prudence & wisdom which the delicacy of your situation

¹ William Wildman Barrington (1717–1793), second Viscount Barrington.

requires, for the Resolutions of N. Y. are offensive to the Ministry, tho' excused by their Friends sensible of the oppression you are under — & indeed we are here all over the Kingdom in great confusion, for the ferment is not confin'd to London — What ever important Event arrives you may depend on hearing — from Your faithf. &c.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feb^y 25th, 1769 ¹THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r.

I received yours of 19th Jan^y & am exceeding glad to find the people of Boston have acted with so much prudence & temper towards the Troops, which will prove to all the World the sending them there was very bad policy however you see by the Votes it has the sanction of Parliamt. you Judge exceeding right to prosecute any outrage of the Soldiers in your Courts because the prosecution here could not be commenc'd till they return'd home.

Pr the
Pratt

One of your friends in the House call'd for an acct. of the net produce of these new Duties throughout the Colonies & it did not appear they had produced a shilling, that the expence is too great for the Income & the design of laying these duties was not the value of the revenue they would bring in but merely to keep hold of the favorite scheme of taxing America, & adding a troop of Officers to the weight of the Gov^r. & thereby diminish the freedom of the People

I am glad you are convinced of the inexpediency of publishing in the papers letters wrote with a friendly freedom which I own has often been a restraint on me in writing, you need be under no apprehension of inconveniences from the Letters you write to me they are always wrote with prudence & caution however none shall be publish'd for the future by my direction.

The greatest resentment you & some others have reason to fear will arise from Gov^r. Bernards representations in his Letters which now lay on the Table of the House of Commons — & have certainly made bad impressions on several of the Ministerial party & occasion the severity you complain of & which they dont seem inclin'd to relax

I have not fail'd to urge in your behalf how peaceably you have submitted to these new duties without any disorder tumult or Riot — & I think the representations that have been made of you are exceedingly unjust — when the Stamp act was agitated you had a Ministry in your favor now you have to do with a Ministry that is impos'd upon by false

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 534-535.

representations, which have fill'd them with groundless jealousys not to be remov'd by reasoning, which have occasion'd all the severities against you but which have given great pain both to your friends in doors & out, & occasion'd a general dissatisfaction with the Ministry, nevertheless they yet maintain their Majority in the House

I have always maintain'd the utility of your Committee of Convention ¹ which I think was of real service to the peace of the Country

L^d Hillsborough is very fond of finding fault with the delivery of the Petition of your House to the King, the true fact as I wrote you before, was the petitions & Letters came to hand just in the confusion of chusing Members for Parlia^t. during which time I knew it woud not be attended to & therefore did not present it but reserved it 'till a more favorable opport^y: Gen^l Lyman ² being there at my house agreed with me in that opinion, a following Ship bringing it in print I being then at my Country house 10 Miles off M^r Sayre immidately left it with L^d H. that he might have it in his hands before the printed Copy was made public & he appointed the next Morn^g. for me to wait upon him as Agent to recommend it to his attention which accordingly I did & he said he had the petition & I desired him to deliver it in that time & manner as he thought woud be of most service to my constituents, & it remain'd in his hands till he shew'd the King & was brought with the other petitions before the House of Commons; therefore asking his Lords^{ps}. pardon his account of this transaction is very trifling, demonstrates his unwillingness to receive petitions from the Colonies which all the Agents have observ'd

We had a meeting of the Agents last night at which it was unanimously agreed to Petition the House for a repeal of the obnoxious acts leaving the matter of right quite out of the question, as we woud be wanting in no effort in your favor, whether it will be successful or not I can not say, & tho' the Merchants were discouraged in their application in your favor, I hope to get them to make another effort in conjunction to add weight to that of the Agents.

I refer you to my last disagreeable Letter to the House concerning which I have received no further particulars only that the Attorney Gen^l. has declar'd there is neither Treason nor misprision of Treason in any of the papers now before the House, which papers are the ground of all their proceedings

I must renew my former advice that you be prudent & persevering in your wise & politic submission to the difficulties you are under for true greatness of mind, is as evident in bearing afflictions becomingly as it is

¹ The convention held in Boston in September, 1768: see p. 342, above.

² Phineas Lyman (1716-1774).

in making every effort to maintain your invaluable priviledges, which will always be near the heart of Yr —

P.S. I write this in a private capacity.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Feb^y 25th 1769

M^r. R. CARY —

Yr friendly letter of Jan^y 20th lies before me & I woud not let any ship sail without giving you some advices concerning American affairs, tho' hardly know what acct. to give you at present every thing looks dark & discouraging & the Scheme of oppression runs very high & rains general discontent the Gov^r seems to triumph in his victory & has no moderation in using it tho' I woud hope some alteration may happen before he puts off his harness, I have always dealt very openly with L^d H & very probable he thinks too plainly, for I once told him I had nothing to ask nor nothing to fear, & therefore treated the hardship of your case without reserve, & apparently stand on very good terms with him, tho' I think he has been trifling in the acc^t he has given of the delivery of the petition from yr House I waited on him the very next day after M^r Sayre had left it, by his own appointment, as I fully wrote you before

Pr the
Pratt

I dont wonder at the Gov^r being pleased with ye present state of affairs he is now the Hero of the Navy¹ & all he says goes for Gospel. — I have wrote you from time so particularly that I have not much to add — only that last night we had a meeting of the Agents for the several colonies in which it was unanimously agreed to Petition the Commons to repeal the obnoxious Law whether we succeed or not, we are willing to make every effort in our power in favor of our constituents tho' at present the Ministry seem to persevere in their obstinate refusal of a repeal

While your affairs are so very interesting, I shall write you by every opportunity

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON, March 9th, 1769

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES
GENTL^a.

Since my last I have receiv'd none from you, but thought it might be acceptable to you to hear how American affairs are conducted.

¹ Perhaps "story."

The Petitions of all the Colonies asserting their own Right of Taxation only have been rejected for that reason, We have had three meetings of all the Agents, to consider the propriety of our petitioning for a repeal of the obnoxious Laws leaving the matter of Right out of the Question, as no petition will be received in which the right of Taxation by Parliam^t. is deny'd, at the two first meetings we unanimously agreed to petition & one was drawn agreeable to that resolution but at the last meeting several objections were raised, the most material of which was, that our taking no notice of the matter of right was virtually giving it up, which we by no means intended doing, my opinion was, that it would not admit of such a Construction, but rather would be a midde way neither asserting or denying it still lays in suspence, what kind of application shall be made, for we think some sort of application necessary in this Sessions.

In the mean time I would advise you to pursue with a cool manly, firm perseverance, your various schemes of Oeconomy — I think you were very prudent in chusing a Comt^{ee} of Correspondence which will prove very usefull & necessary, in case yr. Assembly be dissolved, which seems to be the ministerial plan, for I am very sensible of the State of Anarchy into which you are in danger of falling which would be attended with dreadfull Consequences. I am with great Concern for y^r Liberties yrs. &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON March 10th 1769

To Tho^s CUSHING Esq^r

Since my last of the 18th of Feb^y the Agents have had two meetings in which they drew up a petition to present to the House for a Repeal, but as we dare not mention your Right of Taxation because it would have occasion'd an immediate rejection without even reading we chose to make no mention of the Right at all, which some thought might be virtually giving of it up which we wou'd by no means do, so that we could not be unanimous in our application, that we laid it aside for the present, but are determined in some way or other to bring it before the House before the session is over, tho' I fear it will not be attend'd with success

The Mutiny Bill is not yet come from the Cabinet when it comes into the hands of the Secretary of War, I shall wi the rest of the Agents carefully attend it

I waited to day on L^d Hillsborough, to know from his own Mouth what were the designs of the Ministry relating to Boston, he magnified

the Mildness of Administration, as the address & answer which I sent you contain'd nothing but words, which he said the Ministry wou'd not put in execution without some fresh provocation he enlarg'd on his favorite topic the great kindness Gov^r Bernard had for Boston

I urg'd the removal of the Troops but he said he woud not be the Minister who shou'd advice such a measure for fear of any future disturbance, but that if the Assembly in May open'd in a good temper he believed they might then be overaw'd or the number lessen'd

I also mention'd the unfriendly severity with which the Commissioners executed their office & asserted as there was no violence offer'd their persons it was their own fears sent them into the Castle, that there was a Calm temperate measure of executing an office, which made it less disagreeable to a People than an haughty manner which doubled the burthen

He mention'd some lawsuits carrying on which did not evidence a good temper, I told him I thot when ever the subject was oppress'd by persons in office they were quite right to avail themselves of the Law when they did it with a calm Temper & a steady adherence to Justice —

I have thus as far as I can recollect given the substance of what pass'd with his Lordship to day that you may the better regulate your conduct which I doubt not, will be temperate prudent persevering & animated, that your Enemies may take no advantage against you

I enquired of his Lord^p whether he had given Gov^r Bernard any instructions to lay before the Gen^l Court in May, he said he had only sent them the Acts [?] of the Houses of Lords & Commons with his Majestys answer, without making any animadversions thereon

The delay of the Repeal gives me very pungent concern for the consequences which I've confidence your prudence & wisdom will regulate, the Agency for the Jerseys who is Secretary to the Lord Chancellor assur'd us at the last meeting of Agents that we might depend on the Acts being Repeal'd next Session by the Ministry themselves but that no Consideration woud induce them to do it this year, so that you will have a fair opportunity of persuing your schemes of Oeconomy in which I heartily wish you Success & you may depend on my constant & unwearied endeavors to serve you here & am ¹

¹ There is a copy of this letter in the Massachusetts Archives, xx. 536-538, but dated March 13, 1769.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON March 14, 1769

M^r R. CARY

D. SIR

I have by this Ship wrote particularly to the House the subsistence of Conversation I have lately had with L^d. H. in Order to be with them at the opening the Court in May, he declared he had no design of putting any severe methods into practice, but only to hold the rod over your heads in Case you should be refractory, neither could I obtain a promise of the removal of any of the Troops untill he saw with what temper your general Court opened, he also told me that Gov^r Pownal was making great Interest for my Agency, & in order to make himself popular, he has lately run very strong against Administration, but I think he is too well known in Boston to succeed, I told my L^d. H. if he has so much trouble & as little Success with his L^dship as I have had it would be of no great importance who had the Agency, I have had the same information from other quarters as well as from his Lordship, but every one hear smiles at his officiousness.

Their being every year a New Mutiny bill the Agents will attend it Closely when it comes out of the Cabinet, which is expected every day, least it should bear hard on America.

There is no probability of a repeal this year therefore you will do well to persue your schemes of Oeconomy, with prudence & vigour, & continue to import no goods, untill those that now will not be convinced by reason may feel the inconveniency, for nothing else will remove the delusion you should be exceeding cautious, least by any intemperate heats you give your enemies advantage against you & be assured that I am &c

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

29 March 1769

SIR

Since my last of 10th March I am honour'd with none from you, but M^r Sayre show'd me your very friendly Letter to him in which you kindly mention several reports relating to my conduct which are such false representations, that I am obliged, both for your Satisfaction and my own reputation to endeavour to set them to rights, as I have the same ardent Zeal for serving the Province and defending the Cause of Liberty that I ever profess'd and should be grieved if any of my Friends imagined

it in the least abated nor have I ever had any other sort of connection with the Earl of Hillsborough than transacting the business of your province & that of the 3 Counties on the Delaware.

When the Petition of your House arrived, there were very few persons of distinction in Town, all those to whom you sent Letters except one, were in the Country it being in the time of general Elections I thought it better therefore not to deliver your Petition immediately, there being none of your Friends present to support it, and the situation of things remaind such even till some time after I had actually deliver'd it to my Lord Hillsborough (if its being confessedly in his possession may be call'd a delivery) — for my being a small distance in the Country, Mr Sayre, left it with his Lordship on the monday Evening, waited upon him the next morning, when his Lordship appointed Wednesday the next day at 12 oClock for me to attend him — I accordingly waited on him & after his having told me that he had the petition talked near an hour upon the Subject, and I urged his Lordship to present it to His Majesty when He thought it would be most for the Benefit of the province A few Weeks after this meeting I again attended his Lordship, who show'd me a Letter printed that day in the public papers, the Writer of which reflected upon his Lordship for having secreted the Petition and this founded upon Intelligence from your side the Water — I therefore in justice to his Lordship & real truth immediately inform'd the public by an advertisement¹ I & not his Lordship had for various reasons delay'd it so long, that accusations from America against his Lordship could not be just at that time he having had possession of it as near as I can remember about three Weeks — Upon my delivering the Letter from your House as you may see by mine of the 26 aug^t. His Lordship repeatedly told me that the King had seen your Petition & his Secretary Mr. Pownell being then present, said, he wonder'd how any one dare assert the contrary, if his Lordship did not show or deliver it in a public capacity or if it was not the first presented to his Majesty as it was the first Petition from the Colonies which came into Secretarys Hands — *I am not culpable*

As to your Convention Petition (which was essentially defective, not being signed by the whole body, but only by the Chairman) I was advised by every person I consulted in both Houses except My Lord Hillsborough (& his Advice, I conceive is not esteemed with you as the absolute standard of rectitude & infallibility) by no means to deliver it to His Majesty in person, and the Opinion of an Eminent Councillor, who is a member

¹ See p. 338 note, above.

of Parliament and generally believed to be a steady Friend to America was, that I could not do it with any safety to my person or advantage to the Province, and you may be assured it could not possibly have had any influence upon the King's Speech as it was rejected with contempt by the whole P. C.¹

From the above account, tis plain that my Lord Hillsborough's Representations of my conduct respecting the Petition of the House, is a meer artfull trifling with words & Forms, and convinces me of what I before suspected, that His Lordship is not pleased with your Petitions or the Spirit which produces them — He freely expresses his disapprobation to all Agents and recommends that the business of the province should be transacted by the Governors with the Secretary of State, which I am sure would not prove beneficial to the people

My highest ambition is to merit and preserve your Approbation of my conduct. I endeavour'd to render you my best Services, long before I was honour'd with your public choice of me as your Agent, & you may justly expect the same Services from the same principles.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 3^d

To Tho^s. Cushing Esq^r

Inclos'd you have the last Mutiny Bill for the use of your House which I tho't necessary to send by the Packet as there is no Vessel sailing for Boston but shall send a duplicate by the next Ship, which is as favorable to America as we cou'd obtain, it was hurried thro' the House with precipitancy

Nothing concerning America has occur'd since my last I wish I cou'd give you a more encourageing account of affairs, but there is still no likelihood of a Repeal which gives me real concern, as anything new arises you may depend on hearing from &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 24th 1769

To THE HLE. THO^s. CUSHING Esq^r.

Since my last there has been a motion made in the House of Commons to repeal the Laws you complain of, but the consideration of it is put of

¹ Privy Council.

² The Paoli was commanded by Capt. James Hall.

untill next Sessions therefore there will be no opportunity of obtaining redress untill then, the present Sessions breaking up in a few Weeks, so that it will require your utmost prudence in persevering in your schemes of Oeconomy, which I think must convince our ministry of their mistake in imposing duties on the Colonies

Their is a great discontent at their conduct & such an opposition to their measures, as I hope will in the end overturn them, & introduce an administratⁿ. more favourable to America

You may depend I shall spare no pains in endeavouring to remove the prejudices which have unjustly been taken of your Conduct &c.

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Ap 25th 1769

TO THE SELECT MEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON

I received your favour of the 25 Feb^y you need make no apology, for imploying me in any service, in which the Welfare & prosperity of the Town of Boston is concerned, I only wish I could render them more substantial services, than the present situation of our Ministry will admitt, to whom I am satisfied you have been grossly misrepresented, & the great unhappiness is, they are not disposed to hear anything in your favour, as I doubt not you will be informed by the other Gentlⁿ to whom you wrote. pr the Paoli

Your Complaints of the Military Conduct is Certainly very just, & I am convinced they are intirely needless, & have always strongly remonstrated against it to Ld H — but to no purpose, as the design was certainly to fling a hardship on your province, arising from the offence that was taken against your Circular Letter which I always thought a prudent measure, & I believe will now appear to be so

It was certainly prudent to adress the Gov^r in the manner you have done,¹ & am astonished you have received no further satisfaction, but he has the intire Ear of the Ministry & has been Knighted for his pretended services²

I imagine the Grand dispute with you to be your appearing foremost in the Cause of Liberty for which the Ministry have treated you, with peculiar rig^r. for when I remonstrated to Ld H — the Conduct of the

¹ For the Selectmen's address of February 16th, and the Governor's reply of the 18th, see Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiii. 6-7.

² Bernard was not knighted, but was made a baronet on April 5, 1769.

officers refusing to Quarter the Troops in Fort William His Lordship answer'd they had orders so to do w^{ch} shews a disposition to distress you

Under such Circumstances I do not wonder at the uneasiness of the People, & have always asserted that the Committee of Convention was not only a prudent but a successfull means of preserving your tranquility, & I think you are highly to be commended for keeping peace under such Circumstances, & hope the same temp^r will still produce the same effects, tho I am convinc'd your provocations has been very great & your Enemies malin, both Cruel, & secret, & could they be detected w^d. prove greatly to the advantage of this Country as well as you.

I am fully perswaded you are strongly attach'd to his Majestys person, & Family, & Government & it may be more so than your Enemies, who make such pretentions to it, & Lord H — has an unalterable apprehension that the opposition to the Late oppressive Laws, arrises merely from a few men, that are influenced by a Spirit of faction, which I took the Liberty to affirm to his Lordship that nothing could be more false.

The ministry take such large strides of power, as gives great Uneasiness to the people here & there is such a general discontent at their measures that it occasions a ferment throughout the Whole Kingdom which will hardly subside without some alteration, & I have made an observation that the Friends of Liberty here, are also friends to America & the favourers of arbitrary power are for using severity with America, which shew the principals from which they act,

I have waited upon D^r Franklin & talked the affair over with him, who was of opinion that nothing at present could be done to relieve you I also informed the other Gent^{rs}. that any papers I had was at their service whenever they wanted them &c. & I shall be very happy to join with them in any scheme to promote your felicity

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 12th, 1769

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r.

His Majesty at proroguing the Parliam^t. made a Speech which plainly discovers he is still misinformd of the true state of affairs in America and his ministers continue in the same Temper with which the Session begun which would be disagreeable to me to repeat as well as for you to hear but I lay the whole before you for the Governm^t. of your Conduct and here inclose you his Majesty's Speech — — Our affairs at home are still in a great perturbation which I suppose may be the reason of the

Parliam^{ts}. being proroug'd for so short a time, when any thing important occurs you may depend on hearing from

Your obedient &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

T CUSHING CONTINUED

The minds of the People as well as in America The freeholders of Middlesex are preparing a Pettition in which the Concerns of America are introduced, & some of your grievances pointed at, which will discover the sense of that body relating to your affairs

A united & peaceable pursuit of the Conduct you have adopted untill you obtain the end you have at heart is warmly recommended by yours
&c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 20th 1769

TO THE HBLE THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r.

My last was only a few Lines to inclose you the Kings Speech by which you will see the temper of the Ministry at that time, they have since industriously spread it about the City that the obnoxious Acts will be repeal'd next Sessions the first business it enters upon if the people of America remain quiet, till then, & have desir'd several Merchants to write over to that purpose, with which I thought proper to acquaint you, that you may judge what dependance you may have thereon.

With regard to my own sentiments, I cannot advise you to lay aside one measure of Oeconomy which you so prudently fixed upon, because if there should be a disappointment, or delay, your people will grow impatient & turbulent & will render it more difficult to return to your methods

Oeconomy after they have been once suspended, — you have other difficulties which must be removed before the Affection between the Mother Country & her Colonies can be reestablished

I yesterday waited on Ld Hillsborough that I might have it from his own Mouth, but as he was retired into the Country, I waited on Lord Dartmouth who Confirm'd that the ministry gave out that the Acts would be repeal'd the first thing next Sessions, but he could not see if they *really* intended it, why they should not have done it the last Sessions, I also waited on Mr Burke who gave me the same account, & expressed his concern, at the Cause of the general uneasiness that is in the ¹

¹ The letter ends here. It was printed in part in the Boston Gazette of July 31, 1769, p. 1/1.

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY

LONDON May 20, 1769

CÆSAR RODNEY ESQ^r

Since my last the Parliament is broke up without doing anything in your favour but the ministry now give out that they intend a Repeal the begining of next Sessions, & have desired several Merchants, to write so to their Correspondents in America, how far they are to be Credited time must determine

You have wisely & unitedly thro the whole Colonies settled a Scheme of Oeconomy, which I cannot but advise you to pursue, for peace & Union thro the Continent will be the most effectual method to relieve you and therefore ought to be vigorously prosecuted.

There has been some methods taken to divide the leading men of Virginia, which I hope will not succeed, for if any one of the provinces forsake their Patriotism it may have a fatal effect upon the Whole &c.

DE BERDT TO CÆSAR RODNEY, ETC.

LONDON 13th June 1769TO CÆSAR RODNEY ESQ^r AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LOWER COUNTIES &c.

Wrote that I was unwilling to take any Intelligence from the public reports but had rec^d it from Lord Hillsborough, that the Ministry profess'd a design to repeal the American Revenue Acts next Session but that they might judge of the truth or sincerity by their past conduct — desired them to be steady in the same measures of frugality which had been heretofore adopted &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON June 1stHONB^l. THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

You will by many letters of mine which I imagine are come to hand before this time that I have not been remiss in soliciting your affairs but faithfully transmitted to you & faithfully related L^d Hillsboroughs declarations to me of his regard for America, his practice being so widely different makes me of your opinion that his design was to alter the Constitution of your province which he acknowledged to me sometime agoe & alledged the people had too much power & I question if the delay of the repeal is not design'd by giving time to tamper with the respective

provinces & thereby break that union & harmony which is your strength, for the divisions [?] are not confined to your Prov^o. L^d Hilsb^g. having hinted to me that several other Chartars wanted mending, with relation to which I dealt very freely with him, as well as with relation to many other of your grievances which makes me believe he has a particular dislike to me — Gov^r Bernard you see has for a long time been the Tool of L^d Hilsbo^g. to promote his oppressive measures for which he is knighted, & no wonder he little cared whether he pleased you or not, his expectations were from a different quarter & he is now order'd home to receive his reward — Every effort to relieve you has been tried by your Friends but the weight of the Ministry has always born them down, your vindicating yourselves to them is to no purpose for they are determined to consider but one side of the question & receive all their information from their own creatures, People in general are alarm'd at their Conduct as you will see by the inclosed Petition of Middlesex,¹ the most opulent County in England

I am affraid the Ministry will never alter their measures while they are in power & have got by their numbers in both Houses an approbation of their past conduct which they seem'd senceible woud not bear inspection —

I this Morn^g waited on Col^l. Barrie who received & last night delivered the petition of y^r Town to His Majesty by giving into his own hands having first perused it, he will write to you by the first Ship — but could not do it to day being crowded with business of his own — some of the Ministry which he afterwards spoke to seem'd offended that they had not seen it before presentation

Col^l Barre seems to think, the Ministry are convinced they cannot go thro' their schemes with regard to Taxation in America, to whom I refer you for a more particular account — I also waited on L^d H — to know from him^f the truth of the report which has prevailed in the City that the Ministry gave out that the repeal of the obnoxious acts should take place the begining of next session to which his Lord^{sh} answered he had wrote to every Gov^r on the Continent that they *should* be then repeald & that not one person in the Ministry entertained any thought of taxing the Colonies for the future the said Lett^{rs} will no doubt be communicated to you

What dependance may be placed on this promise I will not venture to say but you must compare them with the tenour of the Kings Speech which accompanied them — — I am on all occasions

¹ See the Gentleman's Magazine, xxxix. 289-291.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON July 20th 1769HONBLE THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r —

SIR

I received your favor by the Rev^d M^r Moor¹ who comes at an unhappy season just after D^r Wheelocks charity² has been largely contributed to

You judge exceeding right of Colⁿ. Barre & my last inform'd you of the chearfulness with which he engaged in your service & the manner of his delivering the Petition

Gov^r Pownal had no particular influence settling the Mutiny Bill in its present form for it was prepar'd in the Cabinet a Paragraph Gov^r Pownal proposed to the House was rejected & one by M^r Garth³ accepted in the room, as he himself inform'd me

I congratulate you on your being again chosen to the important office of Speaker & doubt not your Temper & conduct will greatly contribute to the Wisdom & resolutions of your House, which I see by the papers opens with a becoming Zeal for their priviledges & a true spirit of Loyalty & Patriotism

I am obliged to you for the copy of the Boston Instructions which breath the same spirit & demonstrate the firmness of your Resolution which I highly commend.

I am much pleas'd with the Merchants Resolution & steadfastness & hope it will not be laid aside 'till you *obtain* a redress of your grievances — the Merchants in general here are with you in opinion⁴

¹ The Boston Evening Post of June 11, 1770, contained this notice: "The Rev. Mr. Moore, Minister at Halifax, now in England, soliciting Charity for the Support of Dissenting Ministers in that Province, has had the Honor of Doctor of Divinity conferred on him by the University of King's College, Aberdeen" (p. 3/2). The degree was conferred on "Mr. Gulielmus Moore," "Minister of Halifax, Nova Scotia," on March 2, 1770 (P. J. Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University & King's College, Aberdeen*, 1893, p. 102).

² The Rev. Eleazer Wheelock (1711-1779), whose Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut, developed into Dartmouth College.

³ Charles Garth, Member of Parliament for Devizes Borough, Wiltshire, and agent for South Carolina.

⁴ The rest of this letter is crossed out.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Aug^t. 28th 1769TO THE HONB^l THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r.

I am greatly obligd to you for yours of 13th July, acquainting me that I was chosen afresh the Agent for y^r House, & shall embrace every oppor^{ty}. to promote the Public good, & concur with M^r. Bollam¹ in every measure to that end & when I receivd. the instructions from the House I shall endeavor faithfully to discharge them & your so early communicating the determination of the H. is peculiarly obliging &c Our Public affairs continue in the same distracted situation as when I wrote you last &c

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON Sep^r 11th 1769SAM^l ADAMS ESQ^r

SIR

I receiv'd yours of y^e 31st July by Col: Hoar,² I will do all in my power to make the papers sent me by your House ans^r the end intended, it is plain Gov^r Bernard has mistaken the Road to happiness by conciliating measures

I am oblig'd to the House for their good opinion of me and chusing me by so great a majority

I have not yet seen Col: Hoar when I do shall treat him as a friend to your Province — As I wrote to M^r Cushing that the Ministry gave out they would repeal the obnoxious Laws next Session We shall by the end of this year be a judge of their intentions as by that time the Parliam^t. will be open'd & we shall see the temper of y^e Ministry by the Kings Speech. I am &c

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON Sep^r. 11th 1769EDW^d SHEAF ESQ^r

I receiv'd your friendly Letter of y^e 28th July and am much obligd to your Circumstantial detail of the conduct of the several parties with

¹ William Bollan.

² Perhaps Col. Jonathan Hoar (1720-1771). The Boston Gazette of May 27, 1771, contained this notice: "We hear that Col. *Jonathan Hoar*, who was employed in the Service of this Province during the last War, and some Time since went from this Place to London, lately died on his Passage thence to Newfoundland" (p. 4/1).

regard to an Agent and I am sure you would have been disappointed had you fix'd on Gov^r. Pownal who is as irresolute as the Wind, in one days debate a friend to America the next quite with the Ministry and as for his making a motion in y^e House to repeal the Laws he might as well have attempted to remove the House Itself which he perfectly knew, L^d Hillsborough inform'd me he was aiming at my Place to which I replied, if he had as much trouble and as little success as I had with his Lordship it was no matter who had the Agency. — M^r Burke has too much business on his hands to undertake an Agency and so has Col: Barrie who is at present in Ireland but will both lend me their friendly assistance

I never saw M^r. Bollams pamphlet but apprehend it must be a tedious performance however I shall concur with him in any measure for the good of the Province. — I am exceedingly oblig'd to you for your hasty Acco^{ts}. of my Choice to be Agent to our good friend Mr Cary but the unanimity of the Choice lays me under fresh obligations to your province to serve them with fidelity & care.

I am &c

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON Sep^r. 11th 1769

THE HON^{BLE} JAMES OTIS ESQ^r

SIR

I had the honour of yours by Col: Hoar whom I have not yet seen but shall treat him wth all y^e respect due to a friend of yours — I shall take the necessary care of the Papers from your House committed to my charge and draw and present a Manifesto of your grievances

I am &c —

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^o. Sep^r. 15th, 1769

THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

I have the honour of yours of y^e 30th June covering a Petition to His Majesty which you direct me to deliver in person to him which accordingly I did yesterday that I might exactly conform to your orders but is not the common form of business as Petitions deliv^d. to y^e King in person are not liable to be call'd for in Parliament — to remove which inconvenience I left a Copy at L^d Hillsborough's House against his return from Ireland which is daily expected.

I give full credit to all your complaints and think y^e have behaved with uncommon prudence & temper under all the insults you have suffer'd and that temper in the end will appear to be the wisest measure for it will justify the innocent and throw the just reproach on the oppressor.

Your Petition will be laid before Parliament with a great number of others from the City of London and almost all the Counties in England which it is hop'd will procure a redress of Grievances both here & with you when ever your Cause comes under consideration I shall apply to all your friends for their assistance in the support of it who are now every one of them out of Town. —

I cannot know with certainty who was the proposer of bringing persons to England from America to be tried for Treason it being fix'd in y^e Cabinet, but when I spoke against to L^d Hillsborough he told me they were design'd to execute that resolution but that it might hang over the American's heads to keep them in order — — I shall procure all the papers that may be of service to your cause and I shall think it the highest happiness & satisfaction if I can be a means of obtaining your relief

I also receiv'd yours by the direction of the House of the 26 July with the several Affidavits proving the insufferable insolence of the Soldiers in obstructing the Course of Justice nay I may say endeavouring entirely to defeat and make it appear to all the World that it is not the inhabitants of Boston but the Military force sent there under a pretence to preserve the peace that create disturbances — — As soon as L^d Hillsborough comes to Town I shall by a memorial lay the case before him with the several Affidavits proving the fact and acquaint you with the success of my application & likewise communicate it to our friends when they come to Town.

It was a very prudent step to give Col: Dalrymple and Lieut. Ross ¹ notice that they might be present if they chose to cross examine the Witnesses and will justifie your impartiality to all y^e World and make it appear it was not done clandestinely as some have been from another quarter.

The unanimous choice that your Hon^{ble} House have again made of me for their Agent affords me a peculiar satisfaction and will engage the constant fidelity and attention of — — Y^r oblig'd & obed^t Serv^t.

¹ Col. William Dalrymple and Lieut. Alexander Ross, both of the 14th Regiment.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^o Sep^r 18: 1769.THO^o CUSHING ESQ^r.

I am favour'd with y^r private letter of y^e 8 Aug^t. and am oblig'd to you & my friends for your Zeal & Caution in publishing my L^r. to you concerning L^d Hillb^o.¹ I am not fond of publication but it seems now to be more necessary to appeal to the people as y^e Administration at present don't seem inclin'd to give any relief either here or with you nor shall we know what will certainly be done until the Parliament meets however I immediately deliv^d y^e Petition of y^r House to y^e King as you will see by my L^r to y^e House — — There are many restrictions on your Trade which I sh^d be glad to see remov'd but have no great expectations from the present ministry but I hope they will not be able to stand y^e shock of the numerous Petitions from all parts of y^e Kingdom

I am glad to see the firmness & unanimity of all the Colonies, which persisted in must have y^e desired effect — — I shall be ready to join with M^r Bollan in anything for the good of the Province

It will be the more difficult to attack Gov^r Bern^d as he is under the immediate patronage of L^d Hillborough whose orders he did in *many* Cases exactly follow & therefore is rather y^e Instrument than y^e original of Several mischiefs particularly quartering Soldiers in the Town wⁿ y^e Barracks were empty — I have employ'd a person to procure Gov^r Bernards & y^e other Letters² respecting y^r province of which I shall make y^e best use I can here & transmit them to you with any other account which I think will give you any Satisfaction and am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

London 30 Septem^r, 1769THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^r

SIR

I would not let this Ship go away without informing you, that the several Letters wrote by Gov^r Bernard and the Commissioners with the Affidavits which they sent to Great Britain from time to time are Copying out. I am waiting for my Lord Hilsborough's arrival in Town, where I shall lay before him the Riot which happened in Boston from the Soldiery, in the interim as Gov^r. Bernard is now here, if you could

¹ See p. 344 note, above.² See Narrative and Critical History of America, vi. 84 note.

prove any Act of oppression he has been guilty of, by which you can lay an Action of damage, he is accountable for the same, & it might not be amiss to bring him before a Jury, & in order to do it you must give me proper Powers. I should be glad to be in any respect instrumental to repair the damages you have recd. by his extraordinary conduct. I shall take some eminent Councils Opinion here, & transmit it to you for your government, & am ambitious in shewing on every occasion how cordially I am

Sir Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON octo^r 12, 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r —

SIR

Since my last, I have got the Copies of the several Letters you desired properly attested, & herewith send them you for the perusal of your House, & have kept Copies of them here to use, as occasion may require, by all of which it plainly appears, there was a Scheme laid to provoke you to that conduct which would have exposed you to censure, but your prudence & temper mixt with a true patriotic spirit has intirely defeated it, and I hope this Confusion will fall upon the heads of those who contrived it

I have not yet received the Case I laid before Counsel but as soon as I obtain it shall immediately dispatch it to you and shall then be better Judge how Governor Bernard may be proceeded against for the culpable part he has acted

As soon as Lord Hillsborough returns from Ireland I shall wait on him to know what he intends further to do relating to American affairs before which nothing will be resolved on — I am &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Nov^r. 1st, 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r —

I have now got M^r Serjeant Glyns ¹ opinion copy of which I herewith send you, by which you will be able to Judge how you woud have me proceed

I have today waited on L^d Hillsbourough to know how the Ministry

¹ John Glynn (1722-1779).

design to proceed with America, & find he does not speak with that certainty of a Repeal next Session as he did some months ago & with regard to the Duty on Tea he is entirely for keeping it on, neither does he seem to go any further than the repeal of those on paper Glass & painters Colours

As for Gov^r Bernard he has desired in answer to yr Petition to be heard before the King & Council, & the proofs which you mention to support the Aligations in the Petition will not have so much weight as his conduct (as my L^d Hilsborough says) was by Order from the Ministry, however they dont seem to have any inclination to send him back to your Gov^r^{mt} but only that he may resign with an éclat, this hearing my L^d informs me will come on soon & I fear before I receive any further documents from you, tho' my L^d by my desire has agreed to put it off a few weeks it will therefore be right to wait the Issue of this hearing before any further proceedings is begun against Bernard, I shall make the best use of the proofs I have already & believe I must fee Council to attend the hearing nothing in my power shall be neglected — I also waited on Colⁿ Barré who is your fast friend & he gives me some hopes of an alteration in the Ministry which I believe is the only thing can effectually relieve you

As to the Motion for the address of the House to bring persons over here to be tried for Treason, L^d. Hilsborough utterly disclaims its being his, & he says when he was requested refus'd making the motion, but it was then made by the Duke of Bedford

I mention'd to his Lord^{sp} the rescue of John Hiles¹ by the Soldiers when in the Custody of the civil Majistrate which his Lord^p made light of & said it must take its course under the conduct of the Civil Majistrate — I laid the whole affair before the public as I thot it the best way to convince the People how hardly you are used

I urged the *entire* removal of the Troops but they are determin'd to continue one Regiment with you as my L^d still supposes you have a disposition to Rioting tho' I endeavor'd to persuade him to the contrary by your peacable behavior under the insults of the soldiers, & I told him if he desired to keep peace he must order the Troops out of the Town as it was they who caus'd the disturbance by their insolent behaviour

¹ Perhaps "Rily."

DE BERDT TO THE DELAWARE COMMITTEE

LONDON 1 Nov^r, 1769

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE LOWER COUNTIES
GENTⁿ.

I rec^d the Petition of your House to the King, which I could not deliver to Lord Hillsborough before to day, he being for some time past in Ireland, he said he would deliver it to his Majesty, but desired to see my appointment, which on examining I find is for one Year, which expired last Month, whether his Lordship for that reason will make any difficulty, I cannot say, but if he shou'd I shall shew him your Petitions were made out of the Province, as his Lordship *did* hint to me — — I ask'd his Lordship if you might depend on the Acts being Repealed when the Parliament meets, of which he spoke with less certainty, then when I wrote you last, but determines not to give up the Duty on Tea, but only that on Paper, Glass & Painters Colours, that I fear you will not be fully satisfied with the relief which may be given you.

I am with great esteem Gentlemen Yours &c.

DE BERDT TO HILLSBOROUGH

LONDON Nov^r 6th, 1769

TO THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

In obedience to your Lordships command I here inclose you my original appointment of Agency for the lower Counties — Since I had the honour to wait on y^r Lordship a vessell has arrived from Boston which has bro't me no Lrs the hearing of Sir F. Bernard before the Council being a matter of great importance to the Colo^s. I think it proper to inform my Constituents of it, that they may have an opportunity to support the Allegations in their petition

not
sent

DE BERDT TO HILLSBOROUGH

LONDON Nov^r 9, 1769.

TO THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH

MY LORD

In obedience to your Lordships commands I here inclose you my original appointment to the Agency for the Lower Counties on Delaware

Since I waited on your Lordship last Wednesday a Ship has arrived from Boston but brings me no Letter

As it is of last importance to the reputation of the people in that Colony to have an opportunity of supporting the Allegations in their Petition to his Majesty against Sir F. Bernard I am obliged to *insist on their behalf* that sufficient time be granted them for that purpose, in case he is resolved to make his defence before the King in Council otherwise his Majesty can have an opportunity of hearing but one side the Question

As I think it my duty to inform my Constituents by the first Conveyance to any part of the Continent of this very important proceeding, I must beg your Lordships immediate answer, for the Honour & reputation of two or three Hundred thousand of his Majestys most loyal & loving subjects may depend much on the Event ¹

JOHN POWNALL TO DE BERDT

WHITEHALL Nov^r. 10; 1769

SIR

I am commanded by the Earl of Hillsborough to acquaint you, in answer to your Letter to His Lordship of the 8th Instant that the Petition to his Majesty against S^r. Francis Bernard which you mention, having been by his Majesty's command referred to the consideration of his Privy Council any application you have to make touching that Petition must be to that Board.

I am further commanded to acquaint you that the Petition of the Assembly of the lower Counties on Delaware which you deliver'd to his Lordship has been laid before the King.

I am Sir

Your most obedient humb. Serv^t.

(Copy)

JOHN POWNALL ²

Mr De Berdt

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE KING

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL THE HUMBLE
PETITION OF DENNYS DEBERDT AGENT FOR THE HOUSE OF
ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Sheweth —

That your Petitioner having receiv'd a Petition to Your Majesty which according to the direction of his Constituents, he deliver'd to your Majesty in person

¹ Printed in Massachusetts Papers, p. 126.

² Printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 126-127.

The said Petition tho' full of duty & affection to your Majesty's person & Government (of which they have especially in the Course of the two last Warrs given undeniable evidence) yet containing heavy charges and grievous complaints of the Administration of Sr Francis Bernard Baronet as thereby more fully appears.

Being inform'd by the Earl of Hillsborough that your Majesty has referred the consideration thereof to Your Majesty in Council; and as your Majesty's determination thereon must greatly affect many thousands of your Majesty's dutifull & Loyal subjects and is a matter of the highest importance.

Your Petitioner earnestly prays in behalf of the said People that in your great wisdom & Justice Your Majesty will be pleased to grant them due time & opportunity to make good the several allegations contained in the said Petition

And Your Petitioner

Shall ever pray.

(Copy)

DENNYS DEBERDT¹

London

13th Nov^r. 1769

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 16th nov^r. 1769

THO^s CUSHING Esq^r

SIR

Since my last which was of the 1st Ins^t. I have upon due consideration how very important the issue of Governor Barnards defence before the King in Council may prove, wrote the enclosed Letter to the Earl of Hillsborough from whom I received the enclosed answer, and in consequence of his answer I, immediately presented the Petition to his Majesty in Council, Copy of which you also have herewith; and have given Sargeant Glinn a retaining Fee, as Council to plead, if necessary in support of the s^d Petition as he has approved himself a very judicious & firm advocate for the Liberties of the people; and is not untouch'd with the hardness of your case; indeed I would, on no condition have had such an able & popular Speaker, appear against you — I have the satisfaction of having this conduct highly approved by Colⁿ Barré, who is himself a privy Councillor and your steady Friend

pr Cazneau²

¹ This is not an autograph signature. The petition is printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 127-128.

² Probably Capt. Isaac Cazneau.

Sargeant Glinn, is of opinion, that the documents & papers I now am possess'd of will not be admitted as evidence against the Governor, nor will any papers, which I can procure from the public offices stand as proof, which makes it the more necessary that I demand time & opportunity for you to make good your several Charges

I am inform'd that St. Francis Bernard insists on an *immediate* hearing before the Council & apprehend that he will be assisted in his designs by My Lord Hilsborough's Interest & influence, supposing me thus unprovided with evidence against him — I am therefore resolved to disappoint him, by demanding time for you to convince your Sovereign & the whole Kingdom that your charges, tho' *highly criminal are just*

I hope, that from the measures I have taken in this very Interesting affair, his Majesty will be induced, to give you a fair opportunity to support the truth of your several Allegations, and in the course of this application I shall continue to inform you what steps are necessary for you to take for your defence. Please to lay this acco^t. of my proceedings before the House. I am your most obedient & Humble Servant

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON 17 Nov^r, 1769

JAMES OTIS ESQ^r

SIR

p Cazaneau

I have been honor'd with your favour of the 7th Sep^r. giving me some account of the horrid assault ¹ of your Enemies who perhaps might have thought it meritorious to kill a man so obnoxious to their masters in opposing their oppressive designs

I hope by the next Ship to hear of your perfect recovery, & when I receive your particular account of the affair, I shall lay it before the public here, that the prejudices which by various accounts have been impress'd upon the minds of people, may be entirely removed.

I have wrote to the House by this conveyance advising them that Gov^r. Barnard had demanded a defence before the King in Council to which I refer you — My private opinion is, that the Gov^r. who goes by the advice of Lord Hilsborough, designs to gain a hearing immediately, that he may escape the proofs which if time is given you might bring against him, knowing that I am not able to make good all the allegations of your petition for even his own Letters will not be allow'd as evidence, against him, & that a proper Council will be call'd for this purpose — for I am told that they would by no means bring the matter before a full

¹ John Robinson's assault on Otis occurred September 5, 1769.

Council — — I find upon enquiry, that Governor Murray ¹ found means to get the sanction of Council in the very same way, tho' charged by the people of Canada of the most arbitrary conduct. I therefore have the more peremptorily demanded a hearing for the people; that in case Gov^r. Bernard at last evades the proofs, he may not evade the imputation of guilt, but appear to the public in his native colours whatever may be the opinion of the Council. I am very glad to find that M^r Reed,² by his acquaintance with you, has so effectually secured your good opinion, and that you, like myself allow him great merit. The honor you shew'd him at his leaving you lays me under fresh obligations.

The present people in power, so openly invade your Liberties, as well as the Liberties of this Country, that I entertain no hopes of any effectual relief from them nor does there appear any set of men (except such as the people here may after many struggles thrust into power contrary to the inclinations of the court) who would thoroughly restore your broken constitution.

Sargeant Glinn is of opinion that in case the Town of Boston can prove themselves privileged as a Corporate Town so as to prosecute &c. & make it fully appear to a Count of Judicature here, that you may bring a heavy action against Bernard for quartering Troops among you contrary to an act of Parliament; & I leave it to your consideration whether you will not try to bring him before an English Jury by such a prosecution; and immediately furnish me with powers for that purpose.

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LONDON 23^d nov^r. 1769

M^r SHEAFE

SIR.

I wrote to you the 11th sep^r, since have sent to M^r Cushing & M^r Otis a particular account of the situation of things respecting S^r. Francis Barnard which I suppose they have communicated to you, and hope the measures I have taken will prevent him from gaining any partial hearing, or at least, take off the weight of any partial decision in his favour. The people of England, begin now to be convinced that you have been greatly injured, and are every day uniting in spirited petitions against those evil Councillors who have thus distracted this great nation; and I cannot

¹ James Murray (1712-1794).

² Joseph Reed was in Boston in the summer of 1769. A letter of his, dated August 7, 1769, is in W. B. Reed's *Life of Esther De Berdt*, p. 137.

help thinking, that the opposition must soon be too powerfull for them, especially as there is now a rumour of a French War, and the Stocks daily falling, for they have utterly lost the confidence of the people which is the only effectual support of a Ministry — — I must once more recommend it to you, to pursue the Schemes of Oeconomy by which you have already regulated your conduct, and let nothing divert you from so eligible so prudent, so spirited, proceedings, till you find a change of measures really take place, for in my opinion you can make no dependance on any men who are likely to succeed the present in power. Lord Rockingham's party entertain the most favourable sentiments of you; but the conversation of those Officers who have arrived here from America, has ever with them done you great Injury. I cannot conclude, without repeating my warmest thanks for your friendly conduct in my last election and with pleasure I subscribe myself your obliged and humble servant.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 2 Dec^r, 1769

TO THOMAS CUSHING Esq^r,

SIR

Since I wrote last I have been with the Clerk of the Council to know whether any proceedings respecting your Petition against Gov^r. Bernard were immediately intended, and I received for answer, that Gov^r. Bernard had thrown in his defence, but no time is fixt for its consideration, whenever the matter does come before the Council, I shall have timely notice, & then repeat my demands for a hearing of such Evidences as you may think proper to procure In the mean time I shall endeavour to get a Copy of the Governors defence, which if obtaind, I shall send you.

The Lords have not yet even determined to take the affair up, tho' S^r. Francis warmly presses it, owing chiefly, as I imagine to the measures which I have so early taken to prevent a partial hearing; there appears no probability that the Governor will be sent out to you again, but on the contrary, tis believed he would gladly make for himself a safe or decent retreat.

I shall continue to advise the House of this weighty matter as circumstances may occur — I have the honour to be

Your most faithfull & most obed^t hble Servt .

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON SELECTMEN

LONDON Dec^r. 5th 1769

TO THE SELECT MEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON.

GENTL^m.

I rec^d. yours of 3^d Oct^r. with your very Judicious & pertinent remarks ¹ on the Lett^{rs} of S^r Francis Bernard which I have order'd to be reprinted here which I think must satisfy every reasonable person that you have been very hardly dealt by & very injuriously misrepresented & I always was of your opinion that a design was formed to irritate the Town to some act of imprudence & violence that your Enemies might take some advantage over you which you have wisely prevented by your prudent Conduct — The case now lies before His Majesty in Council as you will learn from M^r Cushing or letters & vouchers I have sent the House by this conveyance — I am oblig'd to you for the confidence you place in me & shall always endeavor to preserve your good opinion

The grievances you complain of are very just & your request reasonable but in my own private opinion I fear the whole will not be granted tho' your friends do strenuously insist on the whole fabric of oppression being demolish'd, shou'd we indeed have a change in the Ministry our hopes will be more sanguine & every part of the Kingdom is dissatisfied with their Administration as you must see by our publick prints

I have consulted Serjeant Glynn to know if the Town of Boston can sue the Gov^r for any of his violent proceedings & upon consideration he thinks you cannot unless you are a corporation or privileged Town under the Great Seal of England, so that you are perfectly right in the prosecution design'd by you there. I am

¹ On October 23, 1769, a committee wrote De Berdt that "in pursuance of the directions of the Town of Boston we have the honor to transmit you a Pamphlet containing some observations upon divers letters and memorials wrote by Governor Bernard and others wherein the Town has been injuriously aspersed and its inhabitants grossly misrepresented" (Massachusetts Papers, pp. 124-125). The pamphlet was the Appeal to the World, written by Samuel Adams. It was advertised as "*Just Published, and to be Sold by ENES and GILL, in Queen-Street*" in the Boston Gazette of October 30, 1768, p. 1/1, and was reprinted in London in 1770. Cf. p. 302 note 2, above.

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COURT AT S^t. JAMES'S THE 25TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1769

Present

The Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council

Upon reading this day at the Board a Petition of Sir Fra^s. Bernard Baronet Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, setting forth, amongst other things, that he hath received notice that a Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the said Province, containing divers Charges against him has been presented to His Majesty, and humbly praying that an early day may be appointed to hear & examine the several Articles of the said Charge.

It is ordered by His Majesty in Council, that the said Petition be and it is hereby referred to the Right Honble the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation affairs (to whom the said Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay stands referred) to consider the whole matter & report their opinion thereupon to His Majesty at this Board.

GOVERNOR BERNARD'S PETITION TO THE KING

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL

THE PETITION OF S^r. FRAN^s. BERNARD, BARONET, GOVERNOR OF
THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Majestys Petitioner having reced notice from the Office of one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that a Remonstrance of the House of Representatives of the said Province containing divers Charges against your Majesty's Petitioner, has been presented to your Majesty by the Agent of the said House, and now lies before your Majesty in your Privy Council, most humbly implores that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to order an early day for the Hearing the Examination of several articles of Charge against your Petitioner; for although the said House of Representatives had the Injustice to deny your Petitioner a Copy of the said Remonstrance when it passed that House sometime before the 15th day of July, and your Petitioner was not able to obtain such Copy, till the 27th. day of that Month, only three days before your Petitioner Embarked for England, thereby evidently intending to prevent your Petitioner from procuring such Evidence of the falsity of such

complaint, as might be necessary for his Justification; yet your Majestys humble Petitioner has no doubt that he shall be well able to manifest to your Majesty's satisfaction by the help of such Papers as are now in his possession, and may be obtained from your Majesty's Offices here; the falsity & malice of the Charges, alledged against him.

And your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c.

Sept^r. 23rd 1769

FRA^s. BERNARD

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON Decem^r 8th, 1769

M^R JAMES OTIS

I was favoured with yours for Capt. Bryant yesterday & immediately forwarded the Lr. to Hon. Arthur Jones, as you desired & beg you will freely command me, whenever I can render you any services in this Country, I have already wrote you by this vessell to which please to be referd — &c

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 1 Jan, 1770

SIR

Since my last of the 2^d dec^r conveying Copies of the several matters laid before the Council I have received from that board notice for all parties being heard on the 27th Inst. on which I have again consulted Sargeant Glinn, who is of opinion, that, tho' we are unable to produce such evidence as to prove all the alligations in your petition against S^r. Francis Bernard, yet it will be necessary to secure all such papers as may be found suitable for our purposes in the various public offices here at all events and wherein we may fail of clear evidence then to plead want of due time in which it might have been acquired, I shall also join with him another Council who is a Friend to Liberty.

I fear this affair will prove not only troublesom, but very expensive, but apprehend you would spare no cost in pursuing a measure in which your honor is so nearly concern'd and on the event of which your future happiness & freedom may considerably depend — — It will be exceedingly difficult to fix directly on those papers which may be necessary for our purposes, as you have not particularly named them — they must be obtain'd by order of the privy council, and this order cannot be made general unless the party is in favour, and you may suppose there is no

reason to expect much assistance from the chief officers or Clerks of the public Boards.

I shall be under the necessity of keeping those two Gentlemen of the Law who are able advocates & friends to your cause retain'd in your service, and will narrowly watch your Enemies lest any Innovations may be attempted on your charter Rights for those who love power wish to alter & destroy your noble Charter of Liberty under which the people of your province may otherways enjoy pure freedom & to which I was born a friend — I have much reason to apprehend some violations of this nature will be attempted for my Lord Hillsborough has some time since declared to me that in his opinion there was a necessity of an alteration & if once any alteration is admitted we know not where it may end — I shall in my application to Ministry to Parliament & to the public, peremptorily insist that all acts for the purpose of raising a Revenue in America, must be absolutely repeal'd, the oppressive powers of the Admiralty courts relinquish'd or circumscribed by the courts of record the civil Magistrats made independent, &c, &c. or otherways there can be no reasonable grounds to expect that mutual harmony & affection which formerly subsisted between America & this Country — I am with great respect your most obedient & most Humble Servant.

Thomas Cushing Esq^r. Speaker of the Honble
To House of Representatives

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON Jan^y 4th, 1770

M^r R. CARY

pr Packet : : Inclosed you have a Lr to M^r Cushing which as it goes p^r Packett I send under cover to you for safety as the last Lr from him came open to my hand, & I have too much reason to suspect many of my Lrs have been open'd & many retarded, &c.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 4th, 1769¹

M^r THO^s CUSHING

I have already wrote you by this packett in your Public Capacity under cover, as I have great reason to suspect, among the many mean, & wicked, artifices of this Ministry they open my Lrs; the last from you came open to my hands from the Post office, but as I say nothing that I am ashamed off, the detention is the only thing I fear.

¹ An error for 1770.

I have nothing particular to communicate but to assure you of my Zeal to serve the Province, which engrosses all my thoughts & attention, our parliament will meet next week & I am now preparing to publish a pamphlett, clearly stating some points which I think you have overlooked, in all your Lrs &c you say that no goods will imported nor any terms accepted on, but the total repeal of all the oppressive revenue Acts, but you do not particularly point out what those Acts are

Now I propose to recite every particular revenue act with remarks how far they are Unconstitutional & Anticommercial, & some other matters which I shall advise you of in due time, I have republished the Appeal to the World¹ & sent one to all the members that are of consequence as well as spread them all over the Town, for there is no other chance of you & us in this Country obtaining redress but by appeal^s to the Publick, every body is pleased with the book & dispises your odious Gov^r. & I can assure you he is not received with that applause which he expected, & I hope before the Parliament breaks up to make him appear more contemptable. Lord Shel——e & some of our friends are of opinion that we can sue him here, but in important concerns we must be deliberate & weigh things in our mind, & not give way to resentment, so as to impeach our prudence or Judgment & to fight against a Army of artfull wicked men requires all the skill a man is master off — I shall carefull watch the conduct of yr. Gov^r. & if the ministry do clear him by a partial hearing before the P— C— without allowing you time to be heard, the World shall know their vilany & lay the blame on the proper persons

I here inclose you a Lr. signed Junius² addressed as you will see to a great personage, it is universally applauded here except by the Scotch & Ministerial men, you will please to shew it M^r Cary & the rest of our friends, & believe to be with great Esteem & Regard

Yrs. &c.

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE KING

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF D. DE BERDT AGENT FOR THE ASSEMBLY
OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Sheweth

That your Petitioner has received notice of an order of Council having passed on the 21st of Decem^r. for the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay

sent
via
R. Island

¹ See p. 302 note 2, p. 389 note, above.

² Junius's letter dated December 19, 1769, contained the celebrated address to the King.

to make good certain alligations against Gov^r. Bernard, before your majestys Privy Council on the 27 of Jany next

And as it is impossible in that time, to obtain, from beyond Sea such evidences as are necessary to support those Alligations

Your Petitioner humbly prayeth, in behalf of the said Assembly, that the Trial may be deferd for some M^{os} in order that due time may be allowed for obtaining from such a distance the proofs requisite to confirm the several charges urged against Sir Francis Bernard.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound &c.

Copy of a Petition delivered at the Council Office 18th Jany

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL the 20th. of Jany. 1770

By the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Council for
Plantation Affairs.

sent
via
R. Island

Whereas the Lords of the Committee were pleased by their Order of the 21st. of last Month, to appoint Saturday the 27th. of this Month, to hear the Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay; containing divers articles of complaint against S^r. Francis Bernard, Baronet, Governor of the said Province.

And whereas His Majesty was pleased, by His Order in Council of the 19th. of this Instant, to refer unto this Committee, the humble Petition of Dennys DeBerdt, Agent for the Assembly of the said Province; praying that the Hearing of the said Complaint may be deferred for some Months, in order that due time may be allowed for obtaining from such a distance, the Proofs requisite to confirm the several Charges urged against the said Governor,

The Lords of the Committee this day took the same into Consideration and were attended by the said Dennys DeBerdt and also by the said S^r. Francis Bernard, and are thereupon pleased to order that the said Complaint be peremptorily heard at this Committee on Wednesday the 28th. day of Feb^y. next.

Whereof all Persons concerned are to take notice, & not to fail attending their Lordships at the said time, in order to be heard thereupon.

(Signed)

STEP: COTTRELL

(A true Copy from the Orig^l.)

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Jan^y 26; 1770TO THE HBLE. THO^a CUSHING ESQ^r.

I have since my last, again petitioned the Council for longer time, in consequence of which I have been examin'd before them, & have obtain'd but to the 28th Feby, as you will see by the inclosed order altho I asked for 6 mos. — it now plainly appears to me, that S^r F. B. prorogued y^r. house for 6 Mos. that you might not have the opportunity of sending me further documents as a House & that he might obtain his aquital without opposition, in which I hope I shall disappoint him but should be glad in the mean time to receive further proofs in support of the Allegations in your Petition.

via
Rhode
Island

L. H. before the whole Committee of Council promised me free access to his office for any Lrs. I might want from thence, nevertheless my Council are still of opinion to Petition for further time; to support which they will give their reasons for the delay, & sign their Names.

I shall carefully watch the Conduct of S^r. F. B. & endeavour to defeat his purposes tho the Committee seem'd much in his favour, I assured him I had no personal resentment against him but that I would do my constituents justice,

My Council will meet next week, to consult what furthr. steps can be taken, which I shall advise you

There were very warm debates yesterday in the house of Com^{ms}. & the ministry much disconcerted, which it is thought will produce some Changes in your fav^r. w^{ch}. if they should occur you may expect immediate advice

HBLE THO^a. CUSHING continued

I have just printed a small Pamphlet,¹ being the substance of a Lr you sent me last year, with some remarks, which I think may be very usefull at this present time, & shall send you one by the next opportunity, with the votes of our House of Com^{ms} in which you are now particularly interested

I have the Honour to be

Your obliged & obedient Servant

¹ "Extract of a Letter from the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts-Bay, to their Agent Dennys De Berdt, Esq; with some Remarks. London: . . . M DCC LXX." The "Remarks" are printed below, pp. 455-461.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LOND^o. Feb^y 2^d, 1770To THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r SPEAKERTO THE HON^{ble} HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIR Since my last a Copy of w^{ch} you have here inclosd nothing has materially occur'd. Our Council have not yet met to settle our new petition but are of opinion I must obtain attested Copies of all S^r Fra^s. Bernard's Letters to L^d Hillsborough which will be an expensive affair and then the Clerks must attend with the originals as evidence

There has been some alterations in y^e Ministry but y^e whole not yet settled. I shall be glad you would send me such further Documents as will prove each Alligation in y^r Petition — American Affairs are not yet come on in y^e House but y^e N^o American merch^{ts}. have joind in a petition to Parliam^t. for the Repeal of one Revenue Act only which I think will by no means ans^r. your end unless the whole system of oppressive Laws be repeald for which end I have printed 500 of y^e little pamphlet inclosd & distributed them among y^e members of both Houses which I hope will have the desir'd effect together with a personal application to our friends — The taking off the duty on Tea meets wth great opposition & tis a Question wth me whether anything at all will be done but if any thing new occurs you may depend upon hearing from

S^r Y^r obedient Hum^e Serv^t.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Feby 2^d; 1770THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^rS^r

I rec^d. y^{rs} of y^e 18 Nov^r in y^r. private character and herewith send you a little pamphlet which I am now delivering to y^e members of both Houses which contain I think both your sentim^{ts}. & my own & shall inforce them personally with all our friends and wish it may have a good effect — But our Merch^{ts} here as well as severell with you seem contented with a Repeal with the last Revenue Act only and upon that are ready to ship their orders

We had a general meeting with y^e Merch^{ts}. yesterday at which were present M^r Abel James of Philad^a. Mr Murray of New York both Quakers and Mr Frasier ¹ Mr Lanes partner produced a Letter from his Corres-

¹ The firm of Lane, Son, & Frasier is mentioned in Historical Manuscripts Commissions, 14th Report, app. pt. x. pp. 295, 304.

pondent in Boston directing him to Ship goods on condition of that Act alone being repeald. I strongly opposd a partial application & refused to join therein but they said that Resolution might be right as I was an Agent but as Merch^{ts} they had nothing to do but to ship Goods agreeable to their orders — I fear there is a Juncto in America which will frustrate all y^r prudent measures unless our ministry is so obstinate as to throw out the partial application which is very likely to be the Case as the Repealing the duty on Tea meets with great opposition and the India Comp^y make no application for it

We have some alterations in y^e ministry and we are in hopes it will go farther but nothing of a certainty is yet known

I have wrote by this Ship to you in your public character and wish you would use your interest & Influence to forward imediately the Documents necessary for the support of y^e allegations in y^r Petition against Gov^r. Bernard.

I submitt to you if it would not be prudent to appoint a Comittee to Correspond with me during the recess of y^r house as the want of proofs to support the Allegations of y^r Pettⁿ. must have been retarded by the Artifice of Bernard in Proroging the house for 6 M^{os} just as he left Boston.

I shall take care & advise you from time to time of every important matter & remain with great respect &c.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDⁿ Feb^y 2, 1770]

DEAR SIR

I rec^d yours of 15 Novem^{br} & answ^d it by a hasty line by the Pacet to cover on to M^r Cushin & since have been fully taken up in collectin the scaterd documents to prove your alegations against Gov^r. Bernard and am impatiently waiting for fuller evidence from you which I am now cald upon to produce in Concle it was a pointed finess in Gov^r. Bernard to adjorn the House for six months to prevent the House for giving me further instructions as a House which beg you would use your intrest to follow to me as they are of great importance as I am not sure that I shall obtain a longer time then the 28 of Feb^{ry}. tho' I am applying for it.

There are som changes in the ministry in our favor & wee hope for more which will facilitate our aplications

In order more effectually to thro more lite on the application for a repeal on the Revenue Laws I have printed a letter which come last year too late with some remarks which I herewith send you & am now puting it in

to the Hands of the members of both Houses that it may make the deeper impression on there minds than by bare Conversation.

I thank you for your hint about my charges which now indeed rises a pace fees of the Council Chamber & feeling our own Council as well as printing makes the expence very considerable which I have already hinted to M^r Cushing & M^r Otis wrote me word not to speare any expence to bring the Gov^r, to Justice.

The merchants have had two or three meetings about petition^g. which they have at last agreed to do but for the repeal of *one* act only against which I protested for unless the System of opresion is intirely broken you can have no substantial relife my sentiments you have in the inclos^d printed Letter which after reading please to deliver to M^r Cusing in my name

I bless God I do not find my health impa^d by the constant application the business now requires as I am oblig^d to go Dayly from one Noble-mans to Another for severl Hours in a morning and often out again in the Evening.

I am with Great Esteem

To M^r R^d. CARY

DE BERDT TO EDWARD SHEAFE

LON^d. Feb^y 2, 1770

M^r SHEAF

DEAR SIR

The friendship you have sh^d me in many instances and the Patriotick temper you poses for bid's me being silent to you tho I have wrote fulley by this ship to M^r Cushing both in his Publick and privet Character I hear send you a little Pamphlet which I am now puting in to the hands of the mem^{rs} of both Houses weerein I think your case is farly stated & the princapls of Liberty fulley maintaind I fear you have some fals Brethren among *you* which will brake throu the prudent resolutions and have asserted to the whole body of merchants that the Americans will be satisfy^d with the repeal of the last act *only* and produs^d severl letters to prove it as well as two persons from Phylad^a & N York Able James & M^r Murry confirm^d it vive voce and M^r Frazier partner with M^r Lane produ^d a Letter he rec^d a few days since directing him to ship goods on that condision.

wrote the same to M^r Adams Lon^d Feb^y 2

wrote the same to M^r Dexter Lon^d Feb^y 2

wrote the same to M^r Otis London Feb^y 2

DE BERDT TO THOMAS MCKEAN

Feb^y 15, 1770 NEWCASTLEM^r THOS. MCKEAN

SIR

I had not until now an opportunity of answering your obliging favor of Nov^{br}. 9th covering a bill of exchange for 50 pound which is plac^d. to the credit of your House, & am exceedingly obliged by this token of y^r approbation & esteem

American affairs are yet in a great uncertainty the Merchants of London have met & come to a resolution of exporting Goods if they can obtain a repeal of the Single act imposing Duties on Glass, painters Coulers, & paper, & tea, which will by no means effectually remove your difficulties, which arises from a more extensive plan, and is only lopping the top branches of a tree which ought to be entirely rooted out; The condissinal orders (if these acts are repealed) arose from the Quakers in Phila^a. who grew impatient of the restraints on trade & came into this new agreement which they communicated to Boston, & Boston has done the same; the merchants view in the repeal proposed, was entirely confined to trade, & they openly acknowledge^d they had no other regard for America, *that* Concerned the Agents, and not the Merchants, the merchants petition lays before the House & will come on in a few Days but is entirely uncertain what turn it will take

I fear this partial agreement will throw you into some confusion in America your letters are all so resolute in preparing for the worst that I think you will not be easily deceived

L^d Bontenot¹ has amused the Virginians with very high expectations which do not seem agreeable to the ministry here — L^d Hillsborough has peremptorily asserted he never will consent to the taking off the Duty upon tea, if that is not done the Quakers' fabric falls to the ground & I hope the Colonies will more firmly unite in their common interest.

I strenuously solicit the repeal of the whole, declaring that the relaxation of any one point will not satisfy the Americans unless entirely abolished. I make use of this metaphor because we have in England such varieties of Language relating to our public affairs that it is difficult to say what will be the event of the present Sessions the whole nation being dissatisfied with the present measures and the Patriotic minority gradually increases though not so fast as I could wish

I have printed my sentiments in a little pamphlet which I herewith

¹ Norborne Berkeley (1717-1770), fourth Baron Botetourt.

send you by the Hands of M^r Rhea of Phil^{da}. and hope I have not mistaken the sentiments of my Friends when I frankly lay open my own, and am

With Great Esteem

Wrote to M^r John Rhea of the 16 Feb^y. 1770

DE BERDT'S PETITION TO THE COUNCIL

TO THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL
THE HUMBLE PETITION OF DENNYS DEBERDT, AGENT FOR THE
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

Sheweth,

That your Petitioner having in obedience to your Lordship's Order of the 27th of January, taken every measure to furnish himself with the necessary Evidence requisite to make good the several Allegations brought against S^r. Fran^s. Bernard, by the Province of Massachusetts Bay, humbly begs leave, to represent to your Lordships, that from the nature & importance of the several articles contain'd in their Petition, he finds it utterly impossible to be prepared in support of the above Allegations with any degree of efficacy, without the indulgence of your Lordships, in giving him such further time as may enable him to apply to his Constituents at Boston.

The first notice your Petitioner rece^d that the Hearing was appointed for the 27th of Jan^y., was on the 22^d. of Decem^r. last, and no letter of his conveying such intelligence could probably arrive at Boston, before the appointed day of hearing was elapsed; the same inconvenience attended the other Procrastination, which your Lordships have been pleased to Grant.

Should it be suggested that the House of Representatives have had full time enough to have prepared all the necessary proofs in support of their Allegations, and to have transmitted them to England, Your Petitioner thinks it his Duty to observe to your Lordships, that notwithstanding their resolutions complaining of Gov^r. Bernard were passed some short time before the 15 July last, Yet as S^r Fran^s. Bernard thought proper on that day to Prorogue the House to the 10 Jan^y; he, by that very Act has prevented the House of Assembly, for the space of Six Months from preparing, and consequently, your Petitioner from receiving those necessary authentick Proofs, which he now prays he may have an opportunity of obtaining.

After what your Petitioner has above set forth, your Lordships may think it unnecessary for him to observe, that deprived of the possibility of receiving for so long a time from the only proper Authority the necessary Evidence in support of the above Allegations, no private Individual could with any decency, or even safely presume to take upon himself the Representations of a whole Province & transmit to your Petitioner, such Evidence as he might imagine the Assembly, had they been Sitting, would have offered to your Lordships; Indeed had such a Person existed, your Petitioner might have doubted the Authority of his Evidence. The Assembly might in a future Meeting, have censured his temerity.

Thus situated, your Petitioner hopes your Lordships will postpone the Hearing to such a time as may give him the opportunity of procuring the necessary Proofs, in support of those Allegations, which a much Injured & misrepresented People have by the unanimous voice of their Representatives thought proper dutifully to lay before their Sovereign.

The Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Lordships will in your Justice be pleased to grant him the due time of Seven Months, enabling him & his Constituents to Act with Certainty and efficacy in this important Business.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c
Feb. 15th. 1770

NOTICE ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL

WHITEHALL, Council Chamber
the 21 Feb^y. 1770

The Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of Council for hearing Appeals, Complaints, &c. from the Plantations having appointed to meet in the Council Chamber, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on Wednesday the 28th. of this Instant at Eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, to hear the complaint of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, against S^r. Fran^s. Bernard, Baronet, Gov^r. of that Province,

These are therefore to give Notice to all Persons therein concern'd, that they do not fail attending their Lordships at the said time, in order to be hear'd thereupon.

(Signed)

STEPHEN COTTRELL

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO THE COUNCIL

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL.
THE HUMBLE MEMORIAL OF DENNYS DE BERDT AGENT OF THE HOUSE
OF ASSEMBLY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Sheweth

That your Memorialist having received notice to attend your Lordships in order to support the several allegations which the House of Representatives in the province of the Mass^{ts} Bay have thought proper to present to his Majesty in complaint of their Governor S^r Francis Bernard, and finding himself unable to proceed thereon with any certainty or effect; he thinks it his duty to lay before your Lordships his reasons, why on this day, he intirely declines the attempt

Your memorialist means not to recapitulate those arguments which in his late petition to your Lordships praying for due time, he so fully set forth — Already your Lordships have been inform'd, that the prorogation which so closely followed the resolutions of the house has prevented the assembly from knowing that their petition was order'd to a judicial hearing, & therefore render'd it impossible for them to transmit any evidence in support of their allegations.

With concern your Memorialist is obliged to observe that he has been since inform'd by a Letter from the Speaker of the Assembly, that a second prorogation to the 14th March, has now compleated the impossibility of his receiving in due time any further instructions from his Constituents. In this situation, the House of Assembly, being by repeated prorogations absolutely deny'd the opportunity of making good their allegations your Memorialist finds himself not only call'd upon to produce his evidence in their support, but is expressly charged by Gov^r. Bernard in his answer to the Representations made against him; with doing all he could, to prevent the hearing, under a pretence of waiting for proofs.

To this charge your memorialist thus replies. He assures your Lordships with a confidence arising from truth, that he has taken every means to prepare himself to obey your Lordships order for the hearing upon this day; that he heartily wishes he could have been able to have effected it; but at the same time he thinks it a duty owing to his constituents to declare, that however desirous he might have been to have obey'd your Lordships order; yet he should have thought he had betray'd their Interests & violated the Trust reposed in him if he had attempted to have supported their petition without the assistance of that evidence on which it was founded.

A further reason, which induces your memorialist to decline entering upon the alligations arises from the Answer of S^t Francis Bernard; your Lordships will therein perceive; new and positive charges against the Speaker & House of Assembly, accusing them among other things with unfair practices in denying him a Copy of their petition to their Sovereign till three days before his departure from Boston and of originating in malice the very petition itself

To these charges is it to be expected, your memorialist thus unprepared can possibly answer, or can your Lordships properly decide upon them when the Assembly against whom they are made, will be at the very hour of decision unacquainted with the accusations.

That Governor Bernard should in such a manner & so warmly press for an immediate hearing, your memorialist is not surprised; the Governor well knows, that had the Assembly been permitted to meet, an opportunity would then have been given to a much injured people, of sending over ample testimony in support of those articles which their unanimous voice have alledged as grievous matter of complaint against him.

But whether your Lordships, deligated by his Majesty to consider & report to him your opinion of the Petition now depending will in your justice or wisdom immediately decide upon it, the Petitioners unheard and from an unfortunate necessity at present incapable of making the proper proofs, is a matter your memorialist submits to your Lordships serious consideration; humbly presuming to intimate to your Lordships, that the present Cause involves in it the happiness of many thousands of his Majesty's faithfull subjects, whose misfortune it has yet been to find themselves misrepresented & condemnd unheard

Your memorialist will not trouble your Lordships with enumerating many other reasons why he cannot why in justice to those for whom he is concern'd he ought not to proceed in support of their petition this day; Sufficient for the purpose he humbly apprehends has already been laid before your Lordships.

With a consciousness therefore of having faithfully discharged his duty in every stage of this import business; your memorialist entirely submits to your Lordships Judgement the Cause of a whole Province; declining as he thinks he is in duty bound to enter upon those allegations in support of which his Constituents have hitherto been deny'd the opportunity of transmitting that evidence on which they were founded —
Wednesday 28th of Feb. 1770

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON 24 Feb. 1770

To THO^s. CUSHING ESQ^r

Since my last I have made a fresh application to Council for sufficient time to make good the allegations in your petition, on which I could gain no longer time than the 28 of Feb., a Copy of which drawn up by my council I herewith send you, and since am inform'd of the second prorogation to the 14 march, consequently am entirely disappointed in receiving any documents to support the allegations in the petition or any further direction from you, and as it seem'd to be a ministerial artifice to screen S^r F. Bernard both my Council advise me not to come to a hearing of the merits of the cause, but rather object against any trial untill better evidence can be obtain'd, & if they persist in going into it, it will be such a manifest piece of chicanery as deserves to be brought before Parliament, which I am resolved to effect, for such flagrant partiality should meet with the most exemplary punishment; and I am confirm'd in my opinion by Sargeant Glynn & my other council — — Sargeant Glynn is so valuable a Councillor & Friend I shall be govern'd entirely by his advice, and you may expect to hear by every Ship the Steps I take —

Yours &c

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON 24 Feb. 1770

SIR

I have a few days since receivd your fav^r. of 12th Jan^y with the several necessary papers concerning the seizure of the Brig. Betsy, & have this day presented a memorial to the Treasury Board praying for redress — When I receive an answer or any thing new relative to the affair I shall give you immediate notice for the satisfaction of the owners who are highly injured by that unbounded power lodged in the Admiralty Courts which threatens a total destruction to your whole Commerce

Our public affairs are still in a ferment and the concerns of America not yet brought on the Carpet, to which I shall carefully attend

Yours &c .

To SAM. ADAMS ESQ^r.

DE BERDT TO ———

LONDON 24 Feb, 1770

SIR

By the time you receive this you will have various Letters of mine to lay before the House when they are permitted to meet — This interval of sitting, you will easily perceive puts me under great difficulties, as I would take no steps in so important an affair without your immediate direction; I hope what I have done will meet with your approbation & then I shall be extremely happy — I shall by the next Ship send you a plan of what is necessary to support your allegations, which will make it more easy for you to execute

It is yet uncertain whether there will be any repeal this year as American affairs are put off till next Friday; but it is strongly rumoured that the Ministry intend to make your agreements not to import goods, criminal — thereby to break in upon the union of the Colonies — I have drawn up a memorial of the case of your Friend Spear, & to day presented it to the Lords of the Treasury — I will do all in my power to serve him, for I think him greatly injured — I have perused your pamphlet enumerating the many difficulties your trade labours under which are indeed very heavy — I would fain have had many of them tack'd to the repeal of the Stamp act, which I could not then persuade the Merchants to adopt — I shall keep a lively sense of them upon my mind & slip no opportunity to get you fully redress'd which will not be accomplish'd this Session, & in every Instance prove myself your faithful & Humble Servant

DE BERDT TO JAMES OTIS

LONDON March 5, 1770

JAMES OTIS Esq^r.S^r

I rece'd yours of 18. Dec^{br} relating to the discharge of the Honest Piper which Col. Barre cannot accomplish, his interest as well as mine lying intirely in the opposition and from the present Ministry we can expect no favor, the opposition to whom increases every Day, & hope in time will have some good effect, American affairs are appointed to come to Day & if it dose the House will set too late to send you any account by this Ship

DE BERDT TO SAMUEL ADAMS

LONDON Mar^h 5, 1770SAM^l ADAMS Esq^r
S^r.

Since my last I have rec^d an answer from the Treasury relating to the brig Bettsey which is, (by this Ship) sent over to the Commissioners at Boston for there Concurrence and I hope they will put no Difficultys in the way of the owners receiving a restitution if any should arise you may fully com^d. Your Humble Servant.

DE BERDT TO RICHARD CARY

LONDON March 5th 1770M^r RIC^d CARY
DEAR S^r.

I write by this Ship to M^r Cushon both in his privet and Publick capacity to which pleas^d to be referd for an account of the steps I have taken in regard to G^r. Bernard, whose hearing came on before the Council on monday last 28th Feb^y. but have not yet obtaind Copys of minits but hear the Petition is rejected not with standing I flung in a Memorial objecting against a partial hearing which would have been the case if it had been tried then, it being by too adjornments of your Assembly rendered impossible to send me instructions or furnish me with proofs. I have sent a Coppey of the memorial to M^r. Cushon who will feavor you with a sight of it.

I must be a little cautious what I write to him for my first Letter relating to G^r. Barnard M^r Cushon opened in publick company and a Creature of L^d Hillsboroughs being present took a Coppy of a Parigraph or too which suted his pupose & sent it to his Lordship

American affairs comes on to Day it is thought the House will sit late if the Ship stays until to morrow will ad a postscript.

DE BERDT TO ———

LONDON 7 Mar

SIR

You will see by the Votes of the House here inclosed that the Commons will not agree to a total repeal of the revenue Law imposing duties on Paper Glass &c. I hope therefore you will now pursue such measures as may effectually disappoint the designs of your Enemies here, who still

still entertain warm hopes that you will soon break thro all your agreements for the nonimportation of goods, and that finally the favourite principle of taxing America must thereby be finally establish'd — I have not yet rec^d the minutes of Council respecting y^e petition

Yours.

DENNIS DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 1st. 1770

TO THE HBLE. THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^r.

My Father being much indisposed & this vessell just upon the point of sailing, I take the Liberty of inclosing you the Votes of the House, & S^r Fran: Bernards answer to the Complaint of the House of R. of the M. Bay against him for your inspection

As there has been several reports that the Ministry have flatterd the People with great expectations of the Duty on Tea being repeal'd this Sessions, I can assure you such reports are groundless as they have declared the American Affairs will not come on again this Sessions —

D. B. Jun^r.

PROCEEDINGS IN COUNCIL

AT THE COURT AT S^t. JAMES'S THE 14TH OF MARCH 1770

Present

The Kings most Excellent Majesty

Lord President — Lord Privy Seal — Duke of Queensberry
 Duke of Ancaster — Duke of Newcastle — Lord Steward
 Lord Chamberlin — Earl of Denbigh — Earl of Litchfield
 Earl of Rochford — Earl of Jersey — Earl of Bristol
 Earl of Hillsborough — Viscount Weymouth — Visct. Falmouth
 Lord North — Lord Le Dispenser — Lord Pelham
 Sir Gilbert Elliot — Sir Edw^d Hawke —

Whereas there was this day read at the board a report from the R^t. Hble, the Lords of the Committee of Council for hearing Complaints from the Plantations dated the 7th of this Instant in the words following

Your Majisty having been pleased by your orders in Council of the 25 of Oct^r. & the 29 of Nov^r. last, to refer unto this Committee the Petition of the House of Representatives of the M. Bay containing divers charges against Sir. Francis Bernard, praying that an early day might

be appointed to examine the several articles of complaint exhibited, against him, & likewise a Petition of D. De Berdt Agent for the House of Representatives of the said Province, praying that due time & opportunity might be allow'd to make good the Alligations contain'd in the complaints agt. Gov^r Bernard, the Lords of Committee in obedience to your Majestys said orders of Refference, did on the 21st of Decem^r. take the said several Petitions into consideration & it appearing by the fore-mentioned Petition of Sir Fran. Bernard that a few days before he embarked for England he obtain'd a copy of the Charges alledged against him, & was prepared to make his answer thereto, their Lordships thought proper to appoint Saturday the 27 of Jan^y to hear the same, but your Majesty having been pleased by another order in Council of the 19th Jan^y to refer unto this Committee a further Petition of the said D. DeBerdt, praying that the tryal of the complaints agt. Gov^r. Bernard might be deferd some Months in order that due time might be allowed for obtaining from such a distance the proofs requisit to confirm the several charges urged against the said Gov^r — The Lords of the Com^{te} did on the 28th of the same M^o. take the said Petition into consideration & being attended as well by the said D.B. the Agent for the Complainants, as also by the said S^r F. Bernard heard what each of them had to offer in support of their several Petitions, & upon consideration thereof, their Lordships were pleased to allow some further time, & to order that the said Complaint should be peremptorily heard at this Comi^{tee} on Wednesday the 28th. of February, & to that end their Lordships directed all persons concerned therein to come prepared to be heard on that day, & the Comi^{tee} being met accordingly, another Memorial on behalf of the Agent for the Complainants, dated the 15 Feb^y wherein he prayed that seven M^{os}. time might be allowed to make good the Complaints was laid before their Lordships as was also a Counter petition from S^r Fran. Bernard praying for several reasons therein sett forth that their Lordships would proceed to determine the complaints on the day on which they were appointed to be peremptorily heard, & the parties on each side attending (the Governour only with Council) the Agent for the Complain^{ts}. presented another Memorial to the Committee wherein he declined proceeding upon the Complaints without hav^g. further time allowed him to procure the necessary proofs from his Constituents on which occasion the Lords of the Committee thought proper to put several questions to him, touching the steps he had taken to procure the necessary evidence in support of the Charge, when it appear'd that some time about the M^o of Aug^t. last he wrote to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the M. Bay to send him over the several proofs &

documents necessary to make good the complaints of the said House of Representatives against the Gov^r. & had in several subsequent Lrs. repeated the same but had never received any answer at all from him relative thereto, notwithstanding sundry Lrs. had passed from the Speaker to him since that period containing matters treated on in his aforesaid Lrs. to the Speaker & notwithstanding he was told when the Petition of Complaint was transmitted to him in order to be presented to your Majesty, that the Documents would soon follow, & he was ordered to present the said Petition to your Majesty immediately and the Gov^r. being also called upon by the Committee to know what he had to urge in support of his Petition against granting any further time to the Agent for the Complainants, he offered several reasons to shew that Evidence might have been transmitted to England & received by the Agent for the Complainants in due time, and amongst other things he submitted to their Lordships Consideration the printed Journals of the House of Representatives, whereby it appeared that a former Petition to your Majesty to remove him the said Governor, had been brought into the House of Representatives on the 30 June 1768, and that after debate, the same had been recommitted in order that the Committee might bring in Evidence in support of divers articles alledged; and, by the said printed Journals it further appeared that the next year Viz^t. on the 27th June 1769, the Petition of complaint against the Governor (now under consideration of this Committee) was brought into the House & ordered to be presented to your Majesty, altho' it does not appear by the said Journals that any Evidence was then produced in support of any of the articles of the said Petition; and lastly the Agent for the Complainants having declared to this Committee that he declined proceeding on the business now, or at any future day, unless he was allowed the time he had applied for in his aforementioned Petition of the 15 Febru^y, and as much more indefinitely at the expiration thereof as might be necessary for him to receive Instructions from his Constituents — The Lords of the Committee considering that the Complainants ought to have been prepared with Evidence to support their Charges at the time of presenting the same, or within a reasonable time after, or at least that they might have been sufficiently prepared since the bringing into the House of Representatives the former Petition to remove the Governor in June 1768, and further that the House of Representatives having omitted to send over to their Agent, the Documents necessary to make good their Complaints, altho' it appears by the aforesaid printed Journals, that the House continued sitting Eighteen days after the passing of the said order of the 27 June 1769, could only be with a view to keep up a spirit of Clamour &

Discontent in the said Province, and considering likewise that several of the said articles of complaint against the Governor, could not be supposed to affect the Governor but are rather a charge against your Majesty's Government

Their Lordships are therefore of opinion upon the whole, that the several Charges contained in the said Petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, are groundless, vexatious & scandalous, and that the said Petition ought to be dismissed.

His Majesty taking the said report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order that the said Petition of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, be, and it is hereby dismissed this Board as Groundless, Vexatious & Scandalous

(Signed)

W. BLAIR¹

DENNIS DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON April 13, 1770

TO THE HBLE THO^s CUSHING ESQ^r

Since I had the honour of addressing you the 1st Instant, inclosing the votes of the House of Com^{rs}. & S^r Francis Bernards answer to the Complaint of y^r Hble House, I have to inform you of the loss of my much honoured & Dear Parent who died on Wednesday last, which gives me an opportunity of forwarding you the Report of King & Council in answer to the Petition of your Assembly & to assure you that I am

With the highest esteem & gratitude

Your obliged & obedient Servant.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS, 1757-1770

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Feb, 25, 1757.

Mr. WHEELOCK

REV^d SIR

Mr. Whitefield put into my hands your several favours relating to a charter for the charity school for the Indian children, and desired me

¹ For "a Copy of Minutes taken by a Gentleman who was present at a late Hearing before a C—ttee of C—l," see the supplement to the Boston Gazette of May 21, 1770, p. 2.

to join in with Dr. Avery¹ in an application for that purpose, who cheerfully engaged in such an important service, and we presented a memorial to Lord Halifax on that head, who approves of the design, and advises instead of a charter from his Majesty which would be attended with a large expence, to gett a law in your province for the establishment of such a school or schools, which when it comes here he promises shall be ratified in Councill which will make it as authentic, as any act here.

The design is noble and important, and I heartily wish you success therein, and I shall with pleasure do anything in my power to promote it, and it is with pleasure I tell you there is the like design going forward among the Catabaw and Cherokee Indians, where two school masters and two missionaries are sent among them under the direction of the excellent Mr. Samuel Davies² of Virginia.

I have long thought, these wars on your back frontiers will issue in some important era of Gospel dispensation among the Heathen, under the Infinite wisdom of the great Head of the Church, who can bring good out of evil and order out of confusion, to him lett us be directing our prayer and looking up; to promote such a Temper, a serious call³ has been published and dispersed among the children of God throughout England, to unite their supplications at the throne of grace for mercy for a sinful land, and a Revival of the work of God among us.

To promote the practice in America I have sent some of these calls to Boston to New York, to Philadelphia and to Carolina and as I think they will be agreeable to you I herewith send you a few, which you will put into such hands as is most likely to forward the design.

Surely if the hands if prayer are lifted up America shall never prevail against us, tho for the trial of faith and patience things may for a season hang in dread suspense, happy when under such gloomy dispensation we are in good David's train that our souls are waiting upon God. and waiting for God as our help and shield. Ye are our fortress and strong tower, where there is effectual security for the children of God, when the enemy breaks into our civil and political strongholds.

Whatever may be the hostile designs of our enemies lett but Emanuel be our peace he will raise up against them seven shepherds and eight Principal men and they shall waste the land of Assyria, and thus shall He deliver us from the Assyrians when He cometh into our land and when he treadeth within our borders.

¹ Dr. Benjamin Avery (*d.* 1764), of London.

² See pp. 296-297, above.

³ See p. 425, below.

Here is sufficient security both for Great Brittain and America. This was our happy experience a few years ago when God delivered us from a wicked unnatural rebellion fomented at Rome and supported by France the like salvation can work for you in America, and to whom should the people go but unto their God, be of good courage, Dear Sir stir up the people of God to be wrestling with him, and all shall issue well there is a large number of troops embarking for your continent, and while our ministers of state are wisely choosing out men to fight Amalek lett the ministers of Christ be much in the Mount, and you will excuse this feeble attempt to hold up your hands in

Rev'd and Dear Sir,

Yours in our Com. Lord
DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock.
In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Mr. Dennys DeBerd, London
letter. Recad Oct. 1, 1757.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK¹

LONDON, Mar. 24, 1759.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR,

Last month I received yours by Mr. Peters,² and had before seen your account to Mr. Whitefield of the proceedings at the counsell and if such an affair meets with opposition with you, it cannot be expected to succeed here for the least objection made from you against would effectually prevent a grant.

If you can gett over your difficulties and the God of the spirit of all flesh should turn the hearts of the opposers. I shall do everything in my power to gett it ratified here.

You reason very justly. Duty is ours and when we have done our duty, and can quietly leave important affairs to the disposal of our Heavenly

¹ Dartmouth College MSS. For copies of the letters obtained from this source, I am indebted to the officials of the Dartmouth College Library, more particularly Mr. Harold Goddard Rugg. For further information about De Berdt and Dartmouth College, see F. Chase, History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover; B. P. Smith, History of Dartmouth College; D. M'Clure and E. Parish, Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock; W. DeL. Love, Samson Occom.

² Absolom Peters.

Father, it creates a sweet tranquility in the mind and in his our way and time, he will take care of his church and interests.

The several successes you have had in America are matters of thankfulness and I hope a token for good that God will not forsake us. though doubtless there has been a great deal of misconduct and men's lives sacrificed for nothing. Though it is certain a new system has been adopted since Mr. Pitt was in the ministry, and vigorous methods are still pursuing.

That which gives me greatest hopes is, that America lies near the heart of the children of God in England when they address the Divine footstool, and God has stiled himself a God hearing prayer, and particularly importunate for the spread and success of the gospel among the natives that the Heathen may hear and know the joyful sound, and your western end of the earth, become the willing subjects of the Divine Emanuel who is promised the ends of the earth for his possession.

I thank you for your news. I had much the same account from Dear Mr. Brainard¹ who seemed to think it an infatuation that the attack on Ticonderoga was made with small arms and as much so that they made no regular attack afterwards and hope it will otherways under Gen. Amherst, who behaved well at Louisbourg.

I had an excellent sermon from good Mr. Davies of Virginia, which I printed and dedicated to Lord Halifax: and sent them about your continent, and think I desired Mr. Smith of Boston to transmit one to you: which was a very animating as well as serious discourse. and hope it will be acceptable and useful among you.²

You did me too much honor to read any thing of mine to your congregation, this I hope I can truly say. I should be very glad to be any way servicable to any of God's dear servants, or the cause and interests of our glorious redeemer.³

As Mr. Peters comes so far for spiritual gifts to be communicated from the hand of the Bishop I wish they may not all be dispersed by the

¹ The Rev. John Brainerd of Bethel, New Jersey.

² See pp. 296-298, above. In a letter to De Berdt dated December 17, 1759, Wheelock said: "Sir, I heartily thank you for the service you did the public, in publishing President Davis' serious, seasonable, and animating sermon to the soldiery, &c." (Memoirs, p. 222).

³ In an undated letter to De Berdt, Wheelock, referring to De Berdt's letter to him of February 25, 1757, said: "I took the freedom to read your former letter to my congregation, and if I shall think this, or any other I may receive from you, may be for their edification; I trust you will account that a sufficient excuse" (Memoirs, p. 217).

gales of the Atlantic. for very few of the clergy give any evidence of them at their return, I wish he may be an exception.

I have this moment a letter come to my hands from a Godly minister in the north of England in Wch. he writes. "I cannot express the pleasure and satisfaction many of the Lord's people here (poor in the world but rich in faith) discourse upon hearing of the reform of our Lord's kingdom who thereby in the simplicity of their hearts testifye a sincere love for Zion's king, and I think prove themselves subjects of that glorious king by rejoicing in his victories — they look upon such events as so many answers to their prayers, and are stirred by them to greater fervor, and importunity in that necessary duty — America has for years past, has been the place where God has performed wonders both in the way of his Providence and Grace, may we not therefore hope he will not give it up into the hands of our Popish adversaries?

You here see what I hinted before verified, then dear sir, do you and your side the water join us in striving together for the faith, hope and success of the gospel; Lett us be the strengthening each others hearts and hands in the work of God, and as if old they that feared the Lord spoke often one to another, lett us dear sir who cannot speak, *write* often one to another, and be thereby provoking to love and to good works, and in this strife. I am sure you will provoke,

Dear Sir, Yours in our comⁿ Lord,
DENNY DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock,
MVD at Lebanon Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdt's letter,
Mar. 24, 1759.
Rev'd Mr. Brainard.
Mar. 1759.
(John B.)

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

ENFIELD, Aug. 20 1759

MESSRS POMEROY² & WHEELOCK

DEAR SIRS.

Tho I have heard nothing from you lately I cannot miss the opportunity by Mr. Peters of enquiring after the prosperity of American

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

² The Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy (1704-1784) was a brother-in-law of Wheelock, having married the latter's sister Abigail.

Zion and shall be glad to hear that all your noble designs for promoting the kingdom and Interests of our glorious Emanuel prospers among you.

Divine Providence has given a favourable turn to your military affairs, and we are waiting for God in that respect to perfect that which concerns you and am pleased to hear that Mr. Davies. sermon I published and transmitted to your continent has been acceptable there but how goes your Indian school and mission? Have you got over the difficulties that lay in the way in your Council? You know you may freely command anything in my power to serve that interest.

Dear Mr. Whitefield is in the North and meets with his usual acceptance and is very well but don't return to London until Sept.

Divine Providence has given a surprising turn to the affairs in Germany by Prince Ferdinand gaining a compleat victory¹ over the combined army of France under Marshalls Contades & Brogleo² by which and its consequences the French army is diminished by 20,000 with the loss of their cannon baggage and military chest, and daily fresh parties intercepted and taken. and particularly 800 at Detmald with the heavy baggage of the French army (among which was found part of M de Contades papers) and the military chest of the Saxons. Among these papers was found an original letter from the Marshall duc de Bellüsse³ to Marshall Contades dated July 23 just (8 days before the defeat) published in our Gazette.

"I am still afraid Fischer set out too late; it is however very important and very essential, that we should raise a large contribution. I see no other resourse for our urgent expenses, and for refitting the troops but in the money we may draw from the enemy's country; from whence we must also procure subsistence of all kinds (independently of the money) that is to say hay, straw, oats for the winter, bread corn, cattle, horses, and even men to recruit our foreign troops. The war must not be prolonged, and perhaps it may be necessary, according to the events which may happen between this time and the end of Sept. to make a downright Desert before the line of the quarters which it may be then proper to keep during the winter, in order that the enemy may be under a real impossibility of approaching us: at the same time securing for ourselves a large subsistence. on the route which may be

¹ Ferdinand (1721-1792), Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, won the battle of Minden August 1, 1759.

² Louis Georges Erasme (1704-1795), Duc de Contades; and Victor François (1718-1804), Duc de Broglie.

³ Charles Louis Auguste Fouquet (1684-1761), Duc de Belleisle.

most convenient for us to take in the middle of the winter, to beat up or seize upon the enemy's quarters; that this object may be fulfilled, I caused the greatest authority to be used, in preparing what is necessary for having all our troops, without exception, well clothed, well armed, well equipped, and well refitted in every respect, before the end of Nov. with new tents, in order that, if it shall be advisable for the King's political, and military affairs, you may be able to assemble the whole, or part of your army, to act offensively, and with vigour, from the beginning of January: and that you may have the satisfaction to shew our enemies, and all Europe, that the French know how to act, and carry on war, in all seasons, when they have such a general as you are, and a minister of the department of war, that can foresee, concert matters with the general."

Here is a composition of Pharaoh and Rabshakeh and behold what has God Wrought! when cruelty & blasphemy join to oppress the people of God, he that sits in the Heavens laughs, disconcerts all their measures and breaks the teeth of the devouring Leviathan: as one can hardly read these ordres, without shuddering at their cruelty, but our benumbed heart be roused into a lively flame of love and praise that our fellow Protestants are delivered from such unheard of cruelty, and enliven our supplications at the Divine footstool that God will further break anti-Christian power, deliver his people and build up the church, and restore peace again unto the earth, for we may rest assured that the rod of the wicked shall nit always rest on the Lott of the Righteous, and though remote in bodily presence, a challenge to meet at the Divine footstool on these important errands is hereby sent you from

Dear Sir

Yours in Christian spirit,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

P. S. 22. we have just now express arrived that the king of Prussia has defeated the Russians.

[Addressed]

To The rev'd Mr. Pomeroy

or to Mr. Wheelock

at Lebanon Connecticut

By favour of the Rev'd Mr. Peters, IH.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdts Letter Aug. 20, 1759.

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, May 17, 1760

REV'D & DEAR SIR.

I am favored with yours of the 17th Decr. and congratulate you on the great and many successes with God has blessed our arms in America, and should rejoice if it proved a prelude to the dawn of gospel light among the benighted Heathen.

I observe what you hint regarding the approbation and leniency of the government relating to your Indian School, which doubtless will have some weight here, but will never succeed without our ministry writing to the respective governors for their sentiments, of the affair, which would not only be loosing time but subjecting you to the caprice of each governor, and tho a charter may be of extensive usefulness is always attended with a large expense. but in whatever method you think proper to proceed you may command all the service in my power.

I am very glad Mr. Pomeroy returned safe last winter hope the same Providence will attend him if Duty calls him out again this year also. I had a letter from Crown Point from good Mr. Brainard with some particulars of your affairs, and had a brother in law commanded the Bedford Man of War at Quebec¹ from whom I have heard much of the fertility of those parts we imagined to be a barren wilderness.

I hope a favourable opportunity will arise for engaging Genl. Johnson's interest to procure you some Indian youth, as the next likely means to gain on the natives, may God prosper all your endeavors to build up Zion.

You can have no better rule to judge of the society than by the persons they send you. the single point they keep in view is Episcopacy If that is promoted their secular interest is secured and if men have no religion at all they will naturally run into that which is the most fashionable, the most likely method to strengthen that party; and as your absence when the young clergy come here for spiritual gifts either the bishops hand conveys none or they are all lost in crossing the Atlantic Mr. Peters I fear is an instance of it for after ordination he started many more objections against the gospel than he did on his arrival, I really

¹ The Bedford was commanded by Capt. Thorpe Fowke (W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, 1898, iii. 206 note). Whether De Berdt married a sister of Capt. Fowke, or Capt. Fowke married a sister of De Berdt, it has been impossible to determine. For a notice of Capt. Fowke, who died in 1784 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, liv. 238), see J. Charnock, *Biographia Navalis* (1797), v. 173-175.

fear our clergy store their mind with those prejudices for the aversion they show to Mr. Whitefield and his friends is in reality from that principle.

I am very glad to find the publishing Mr. Davies sermon was so profitable to all my friends I thought at least the manner of introducing it into the world would give weight to Mr. Davies and his friends throughout your continent, and as you observe lett us work while it is day for the night cometh when no man can work.

A bloody scene seems to be opening in Europe, and Germany is likely to be the Aceldema great numbers of troops are raising and embarking from hence to check the torrent the French pour in there, but where they deal proudly, cruelly or deceitfully our God is infinitely above them and can easily disappoint them in their oppressive scheme there, as he did by their long threatened invasion of our coast, and the ravaging insults of Mon^r Thierot:¹

Lett us then take the advice of the Prophet sanctify the Lord God in our hearts lett him be our fear, lett him be our dread, and he shall be for a sanctuary and had he deigned to have given us up into the hands of our enraged and perfidious enemies surely he would not heve shewed all the kindness that the war of 1750 produced

But just as I am concluding we have the awful account that great part of Boston is consumed by fire,² a striking instance of the perishing nature of everything here below, I long for particulars, how it has fared with our Christian friends there and particularly with the medium of our conveyance, Mr. Smith, when you see Mr. Peters remember me to him and he may pay the 5sh. I lent him either to Mr. Nath. Harard [?] of New York or the aforesaid Mr. John Smith of Boston as best suits his convenience but I have hardly left room to assure you that I am

Dear and Rev'd Sir,

Your real Christian Friend,

DENNYS DEBERDT.³

[Addressed]

To

Mr Eleazer Wheelock,
at Lebanon

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerd. t.

Mr. Peters s. gr.

¹ François Thurot (1727-1760), a famous privateer.

² The fire occurred March 20, 1760: see Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxix. 1-132.

³ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

MR WHEELOCK

ENFIELD Augst 29th. 1760

REV'D & DEAR SIR

I have here a little retirement from the busy sceens of London, and will embrace it to answer your favour of the 20th Novem which did not reach me above 2 mos since tho I think I have answered one of a later date and much the same contents

We cannot but rejoice with you on the remarkable success of the British arms on your Continent it is certainly just matter for admiration and praise and how much more important will still appear: if the light of the gospel should dawn among the benighted savages, and your attempt an earnest there of. I cannot but approve of the zeal and prudence of your undertaking.

By proper testimonials I believe a Charter might be obtained but it will be attempted with considerable expense, and you are the best judge of the real advantage that would probably accrue thereby.

As you observe if the thing is of God it shall stand, and he who is king in Zion will take care of securing scaffolding where he designs to erect a Church.

I observe what you hint of the uncertainty of conveyance and have never received any letter of yours but I answered it. You may committ any thing to the care of Mr. Smith of Boston he will safely convey it to me, and you doubtless have frequent Intercourse with that Capital. This gentleman is an acquaintance of good Mr Whitefield, and a favourer of Zion and takes pleasure in the stones thereof, and will lend you any assistance in your affair — Be assured that I am with very great esteem

Sir

Your real Friend and humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT¹

P. S. My love to Mr. Pomeroy. Pray where is Mr. Peters friend that came over to England for ordination? he personally knew you.

Mr. DeBerdts Letter.

[Addressed]

To

The Rev'd Mr Eleazer
Wheelock

In Lebanon

To the Care of Mr John Smith
Merchant in Boston

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerdts
Aug 1760

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Aug 31, 1761.

MR. WHEELOCK.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

Since I wrote to you I have mett the society and also writ¹ to Scotland to the committee there and they seem resolved to support Mr. Occom's mission £20 a year. and will propose it to the society who meet in Nov. and I hope to gett it allowed from Michaelmas.

I have also wrote to Mr. Hollis² and got a friend to talk to him, but could get him to promise nothing, but that he would consider of it. and he might pay the money perhaps for what was just, but always was a whimsical man having his head long since turned by what were called the French Prophets and will think of nothing but his enthusiastical Revelations

Dear Mr. Whitefield who is now got well enough to preach again sent me £25 — for the use of your Indian school which in our last to Mr. John Smith we desired him to pay to you, any other service in my power you may freely command — Rev'd Sir,

Your humble servant,

DENNY'S DE BERDT.³

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock in Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdts Rec'd Dec. 30, 1761.

The Support of Mr. Occom's mission. 1761. ¹

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1761.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

I wrote to you by Califf both of the societies agreeing to allow Mr. Occom £20 sterling from during his mission to Oneidas and acquainted the Rev'd Mr. Bostwick⁴ of New York thereof also and hope it is a token for good that the great Son of Righteousness is about to shine bright and expend his healing wings for both on your western continent.

¹ See p. 461 note, below.² Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), the second Harvard College benefactor of that name.³ Dartmouth College MSS.⁴ The Rev. David Bostwick (1721-1763). The societies referred to are the Society in Scotland for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England (London).

The olive branch of peace is now entirely withered and nothing to be heard in city and country but beating up for recruits as if the war was but just beginning. I hope the conduct of the French will be rewarded as Pharaoh's resoluteness in oppressing Israel was, until *all* his chariots and his horesmen be drawn into and drown in the sea.

I heard nothing since from Mr. Hollis I sh'd be glad in any shape to serve good Mr. Edwards whose case is very hard.

Good Dear Mr. Whitefield is not yet able to preach, he eats drinks and sleeps, but cannot get up his spirit. even his own inability to preach affects him.

I thank you for recommending Mr. Peck [?], his orders shall be regarded with a peculiar attention as a friend of yours.

Good Mr. Smith is safe arrived here and seems in good health and spirit

Dear Sir,

Yours in our Com. Lord.

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock
At Lebanon, Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdts letter, Oct. 10, 1761.
Mr. Occom's £20 sterling.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHELOCK

LONDON, March 2d, 1762

I only received your favour of the 16th Nov. by the care of Mr. Smith's prentice copying of it, the original went overboard when the ship was taken I will transmitt the account of the favourable Reception Mr. Occum met with among the Oneidas as to the society at Edinburgh which I dare say will give them pleasure and encourage them to continue their support. I placed the £25 to Mr. Smith's account, and doubt not but you have long ere now received the whole of it and Mr. Whitefield has got something more the account of which Mr. Smith will bring with him, and in the interim sends his love to you.

I wish you success in all your noble enterprise for spreading the savour of the Redeemer's name among the benighted Heathen exalted enterprise superior to all the expeditions of earthly monarchs even to secure from the tyranny of the oppressor tho that is of no small importance, Its God's work and he will carry it on, when the sett time to enlarge

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

Zion's borders is come, as it certainly shall because a God of infinite faithfulness has promised it.

It is a pleasure to see some fruits of good Mr. Brainard. labours in your lovely little Indian girl, may it be an earnest! a first fruit unto God which may usher in a numerous offspring of willing subjects to the Prince of Peace.

I think it is right to secure some females to be proper consorts to the Christian Indian youth. For when they lay hold of God's [] promise is to them and to their children; as many as the Lord our God shall call. I am very glad to hear there is a Reformation, and a Religious concern, among the Indians where Mr. Gunn¹ resides; but they must be brought off their wild way of living and sett down and cultivate a spot of land, before they can be collected into assemblies to hear the gospel statedly; may that God! who settles the solitary in families in due time accomplish it.

I am very glad to hear Mr. Ashop² is recovered from the follies of his immature way of thinking, it is a good thing that the heart be established with grace; the salutary effluies of which will sooner or later correct the crudities of the head. — his persevering benevolent carriage towards them must be a strong evidence of the Christian temper he recommends to them.

I find you are still called to live by faith for the support of your school, be not discouraged, it is of God I trust, and it shall stand; the as stated help there is from man, the more striking evidences you have, of the power, goodness, faithfulness and care of that kind Providence which has brought it thus far, and he will not forsake his own work; but as good Dr. Watts says of the work of God in the Land. Grace will complete what grace begins. Dear Mr. Whitefield has sent me a bill to forward to you; which I shall do by the first opportunity; which I believe will be heard two mile, so much is the good man's heart sett on the success of your labors [] lately had a letter from good Mr. Brainerd who I find has many difficulties to encounter, but yet is not discouraged; as he finds some success to his ministry, which he informs me is very extensive.

He longs to congratulate me on the Redemption of Martinico;³ however that may be, there is a surprising turn of Providence in the North; God by cutting off one turbulent spirit, seems to have quieted the north country; and thereby put a check to that dreadful effusion

¹ Elisha Gunn, an interpreter.

² Samuel Ashpo, an Indian: see Chase, History of Dartmouth College, i. 41.

³ Martinique was taken by the British in February, 1762.

of blood which female, may I not say, *infernal* revenge had meditated; and by a new compact there, counteracts the family compact between France and Spain which cannot fail to alarm all Europe;¹ and they may be taken in their own craftiness, for Spain seems to have grafted on a Rotten stock, which we hope will fail under them and like Egypt and the Children of Israel make their loins to tremble, nothing could be more unprovoked than the Spanish War, nor, nothing more necessary than carrying it on with vigor; which the whole nation seems resolved to support; and our armaments prodigious, answerable to the sense of the nation; and are now ready to sail: may God go with them, and humble the oppressor and make their proud helpers stoop under them; that your continent may also be cleared of the encroaching vermin, which had they prevailed would have cut out your vitals; but here is our comfort the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!

My best wishes for success attend all your noble undertakings for the glory of God and the good of souls.

Yours in Christian friendship,
DENNYS DE BERDT.²

[Addressed]

To
The Rev'd Mr. Wheelock
at Lebanon
Connecticut
Capt. Denerson IDC. [?]

[Endorsed]

Mr. Dennys DeBerd
from London
March 1762

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Apr. 20, 1762.

MR. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK,
REV'D AND DEAR SIR.

The account you sent me of Mr. Occom and the other Indians; as well as the state of your school has excited many to not only wish and pray for its success but several of Mr. Whitefield's friends have contributed thereunto and paid into my hands on the account of your Indian school £49. Mar. 20. and a friend of mine £1; 1; which we have placed to Mr. Smith's acco't and he will pay it you on his arrival, Mr. Whitefield has also sent you a bill which you hinted was much wanted which Mr.

¹ See p. 437 note, below.

² Dartmouth College MSS. The MS is torn in places.

Smith will forward to you in a Cash E + W [?] and hope it will answer your ends any further accounts of the success of your noble undertakings for the good of souls will be highly acceptable to — Dear Sir,

Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazer Wheelock,
In Lebanon,
Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Mr. DeBerdts letter, Apr. 30 1762. Mr. DeBerdts Apr. 20, 1762.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON. July 15th, 1762.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR

I am favoured with yours of the 25th Mar. and forwarded what you enclosed immediately and shall with pleasure serve the interests of your school and if all mine arrive safe you will see I have not neglected but as I keep no copies of my letters for friendship. I can only refer you to them.

I shall long to hear of the success of Mr. Occom's mission this year hope you will favour me with an account at his return, Mr. Pemberton² gives me a pleasing account of the subscription set on foot in Boston to support missions to the Indians hope it is a token for good that God has a people to gather from among them. We have here three Cherokees but alas they are only introduced to the scenes of folly and vanity, luxury and superstition with which this city abounds, which must give them very wrong ideas of the Christian religion, especially if they form their judgements thereof from our cathedral worship.

Mr. Smith left England the 30th April with a fine wind hope I shall hear you mett with him in Boston, In May, as we dearly hope to hear of his arrival there.

I am much concerned to hear of your bad state of health, may God restore you in much mercy to your family, your people, and the poor Indian youths, whose welfare lies so near your heart there is few like minded with you, who so tenderly care for their welfare.

God is still in the course of his Providence rebuking our enemies the

¹ Dartmouth College MSS.

² The Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton (H. C. 1721). See Chase, History of Dartmouth College, i. 30.

two Marshalls Soubise & D'Etres¹ have been surprised in their quarters by Prince Ferdinand and defeated. Two of our frigates have taken a Spanish register ship estimated at two millions sterling and now our expectation is on the stretch to hear what God will yet do for us, at the Havanah² and the south part of your continent, for while the French remain on any part of it you can have no complete peace and they will also frustrate your noble designs for evangelizing the poor natives, a design of the utmost importance! for the success of which the children of God here are holding up the hands of prayer but alas how small a number and as they are taken to the world of praise how few are their successors! the gathering of souls among us is but like the gleanings of the vintage and shaking of the olive tree, each seek their own things. few, very few, the things of Jesus Christ. however there is a remnant, may you be the happy instrument of increasing their number, and among them may I and mine be found!

We have lately buried my venerable pastor a man mighty in prayer, the compiler of the Call from the City to the Country, some of which my friends the beginning of the war circulated in America, and peculiarly exemplary in a prudent [?] introducing serious conversations, in which exemplary conduct he has left few equals.³ good Mr. White⁴ used to stile him the Bishop of our denomination. that good man is fully recovered, and gone on a tour to Holland for the establishment of his health, that he will hardly see America this war,

Dear Sir, Yours in the Bond of the Gospel,
DENNYS DE BERDT.⁵

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock
In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerd, July 15th, 1762.

¹ Charles de Rohan (1715-1787), Prince de Soubise, and Louis Charles César Le Tellier (1697-1774), Duc d'Estrées.

² Havana was taken by the British in August, 1762.

³ It would be of interest to identify this pamphlet and its author, but unfortunately the data are insufficient. The death on May 31, 1762, of the "Rev. Mr. Barker, an eminent dissenting minister," is recorded in the London Magazine for June (xxxi. 341), and perhaps this was De Berdt's "venerable pastor." If so, it was the Rev. John Barker (1682-1762), of whom there is a notice in the Dictionary of National Biography. The Rev. George Benson, "an eminent and learned dissenting minister" (London Magazine, xxxi. 229), died in April of the same year, but as he was born in 1699 he was scarcely old enough to have been called "venerable."

⁴ Doubtless an error for Whitefield, who was then in Holland (L. Tyerman, Life of the Rev. George Whitefield, ii. 453).

⁵ Dartmouth College MSS.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Oct. 16, 1762.

REV'D AND DEAR SIR,

I duly received yours of the 15th of July and despatched those enclosed thereby as directed, and shall rejoice to hear a good account of Mr. Occom's mission this year. Mr. Bostwick sent me an excellent sermon of Mr. Muir's¹ of Long Island, preached at his ordination and rejoice to find there is such a love to gospel truths among you, may the little leaven, leaven the whole lump.

Mr. Whitefield is now finely recovered and preaches with a great degree of constancy.

We congratulate you on our new marvelous successes hope it will be overruled for good and that this year will also clear your continent of the French virmine by the reduction of Louisiana and that the children of God in America may sit under their own vine and fig trees none to make them afraid and tranquility and outward liberty prevails, the fetters of sin and snares if Satan may be broke from the necks of the inhabitants by the success of a preached gospel.

Dear Sir, Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.²

[Addressed]

To the Rev'd Mr. Wheelock in
Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerd, Oct. 1762,

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

LONDON, Apr. 26, 1763.

MR. WHEELOCK.

DEAR SIR.

Since my last I have not received any from you, this therefore is only to acquaint you I have by Mr. Lesley's direction sent a trunk of books for him to your address and a little parcell the trunk would not hold, which will be sent by Mr. Smith of Boston.

I always rejoice in the success of all your noble attempts to promote

¹ "Muir's" is doubtless a mistake for "Buell's." See p. 323 note 1, above.

² Dartmouth College MSS.

the interest of the glorious Redeemer, and giving me an account then as always gives fresh pleasure to — Dear Sir

Your humble servant,

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

P. S. I have also sent with care of Mr. Smith for you a case of books E. + W [?] from Mr. Forfitt's brother for you to give away among the poor as you think will best promote the glory of God. and the good of precious souls which I know is your delightful work —

The freight is 91 lawful money.

[Addressed]

To Mr. Eleazer Wheelock

In Lebanon.

[Endorsed]

Dennys DeBerd, Apr. 26, 1763.

DE BERDT TO ELEAZAR WHELOCK

LONDON, June 20, 1765.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Though I have not written to you a long time, I often both think and speak of you with affection and esteem, as the apostle of the Indians,

¹ Dartmouth College MSS. The following letter is obtained from the same source:

Boston Sept. 6th: 1764

REV'D & DEAR SIR

My present indisposition would forbid my writing at this time; But as I just received from Mr. De Berdt a letter with the following words I forward them & am most respectfully

Your obedient hum. Serv.

JOHN SMITH.

"Mr. Wheelock's Institution is certainly good & promises singular advantages "to the Interest of Christ in your western world. Tho' we learn by the last "packett The Indians are still making depredations on the southern colonies.

[Addressed]

To

The Rev'd Eleazer Wheelock

To

Lebanon

Connecticut.

[Endorsed]

Letter from Mr.

John Smith

Boston Dec. 2. 1764

and I trust God will prosper and reward your labors of love to those poor heathens.

General Lyman is aiming at a grant to settle a large tract of land in the heart of the Indian country, and intends to include a charter for you if he can obtain it in his grant; but the unsettled state of the king's ministry has been a great difficulty in his mind. And now he is at a stand in expectation of a thorough change, and we hope for the advantage of America, which has lately been very hardly borne upon, and not by them treated with the tenderness of an affectionate mother country, greatly to the embarrassment of trade, and hardships on the merchant.

Mr. Whitefield has paid me £100 for your use, which I have placed to *Mr. S——*'s¹ credit, according to his letter, which he will pay you.

Rev. Sir,

Yours, in christian friendship,

DENNIS DE BERDT.²

DE BERDT TO LORD HALIFAX

MY LORD

The Inhabitants of America and Merchants here who are connected with them, still look on your Lordship as their patron who has the welfare of the Colonies at Heart: from a just sense of their Importance to their Mother Country.

Altho your Lordship is engaged in a more extensive service you will not be an unconcern'd Spectator of the Hardships the Colonies must suffer if the late regulations concerning their Trade are carried into execution; and the damage that will thereby accrew to Great Britain.

Waving the consideration of the priviledges of Englishmen for the preservation of which intire and uncontrouled the Forefathers of the present inhabitants preferr'd an inhospitable desart to their native Soil, and the several Charters which were the Condition (under the Sanction of Royal Authority) of the settling those Colonies; of all which they are exceedingly and justly tenacious and Jealous, tho as zealously affected, and as loyal Subjects to his Majesty as any in his Dominions.

I will only consider how these New Regulations if put in execution or not repealed will operate on our Commerce.

That any difficulties should be put on the Sale of American Lumber

¹ Doubtless John Smith.

² Wheelock's Memoirs, p. 263.

is unaccountable, when that Country is covered with Timber, and cannot be cultivated untill that is cut down and disposed of but must become an incumbrance instead of an usefull acquisition, this is stunting the growth of the Colonies, by the growth of which only we can reap advantage by an Accession of Territorys.

Rather open all the Marketts that can be found for American Timber as well as the whole produce of that Continent and allow a Bounty for importing it into Great Britain, who now pays large Sums of money for Timber from the North.

Which is the interest of Great Britain? To pay a Bounty to her own subjects in America or the whole value of the timber we have to Foreigners?

The Duty on Wines will immediately affect the Fishery as they are all purchas'd of Popish Countries by their consumption of Fish and in whatever measure they affect the Fishery, in that proportion they affect the source of our Riches & Naval Power.

The prohibition of Foreign spirits and the large Duty laid on Molasses is also a Tax on the Fishery, which in those cold Countries cannot be carried on without the use of Spirituous Liquors: whatever therefore renders spirituous Liquors dear is a burthen on that Trade which is of more value to us than the Mines of Mexico and Peru; Is it not an unaccountable mistake in politicks to clog the greatest source of our Riches and Naval power?

What the particular difficulties are which this New Regulation will bring on the provinces you will best learn from their several memorials; but this is Evident it will Diminish their Commerce to England, for want of a capacity to pay for the Goods they would otherways take; and put them on manufacturing necessities for themselves.

The Goods I export to the Continent of America yearly employs 2,000 Men Women & Children, suppose in the City of London there are thirty Merchants who in common export the like quantity and many export much more our exports from London then at a modest computation must employ 60,000 p Hands, how amazing then must be the whole number of Manufacturers employ'd by the exports from Bristol Liverpool & all the Out ports added together.

Is. such a Commerce to be trifled with and endangered? (I may say the most advantageous left to Great Britain) which employs at least 100,000 poor, who if unemployed must be reduced to one of these destructive necessities either to fall on the Lands of the Nobility & Gentry for support or go to America and set up their respective manufactures there, which reckoning 300 Working Days to the Year, and estimating

their Labour at one Shilling a Day would be an annual Loss to Great Britain of £1,500,000.

Laying any difficulties and burthens on the Continent or Islands of America is giving the Cramp if not the dead palsey to their Commerce & Navigation, and the Dead Palsey in a Limb, must inevitably affect the whole Body.

It is not to be supposed this destruction of our commerce will come on us immediately, or at ounce, no! Trade will die by a gradual consumption, which will be as fatal & certain as a sudden apoplexy; and when Trade is once got out of its old Channel, it is like the course of a River that never returns more.

Your Lordship will say what are the advantages that must compensate for all these destructive Evils? I know of none but that the Lumber by having but one open Markitt may come cheaper to the Islands, and the materials for Rum being advanced to the Continent, the Rum also of the Islands will bear a better price but this is distressing the Continent to support the Opulency & luxury of the Islands, which notwithstanding the affected Epithet of poor planters is undeniably exceeding great.

The avowed advantages is bringing a sum of money into the Treasury, that will in the operation be found a deception; for the support of a sufficient number of Officers & Cruisers to prevent smuggling, on that extensive Coast will devour the whole Duty, and one penny p Gallon on the Molosses, collected with the good will of the people, will produce more neat money than 3 pence collected by the dint of Officers, for it is always found in fact, raising the Duties lessens the Revenues.

But supposing this sum should arise to the most sanguine expectation of the auther of these measures can it compensate for the non cultivation of the wild country of America?

Discouraging the Fishery of America our most valuable Treasure?

Creating fears and jealousies in the minds of thousands of his Majesties faithful & Loyal Subjects, on a tract of Land above 1000 Miles extent? and

Hazarding the gradual loss of a commerce that circulates a Million & half yearly, and prevents 100,000 manufacturers from either falling on the landed estates for support, or leave their native Land to seek employment where Trade will be encouraged?

Sure these considerations will rouse your Lordships attention & engage your influence with the Ministry to adopt a system of Politicks which will promote the mutual advantage, Esteem, and affection that ought always to subsist between the Colonies & their Mother Country:

to which I may venture to say they are strongly attached, so strongly, that nothing but *oppression* will ever weaken.

Colonies seated on so large a tract of land as if Markets were found for their produce, the Inhabitants would improve and cultivate to the encreasing and unspeakable advantage of Great Britain, the importance of the Subject I hope will be a sufficient apology for this trouble given Your Lordship by &c^a.¹

Copy of Mr De Berdt's Letter to Lord Halifax.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

It gave me great pleasure to see in the publick papers You are nominated ² the first Lord of Trade; it put me in mind of a Similar occurrence in the late War, when the whole Continent of America were uneasy at the Spiritless measures, and fruitless Campaigns in the back Country; which consumed their men without anoying the Enemy; the commanding officer could not get a man raised by any of the Colonies.

A new Minister by an animating Letter to each of the Provinces gave a turn to their drooping Spirits; Men were immediately raised & supported; under Divine providence the whole face of affairs were changed, which issued in the destruction of the French power in Canada; and that Minister ³ by all the people there, loved & esteem'd as their great deliverer.

Your Lordship likewise takes the Helm of Trade when our commerce in America is in the utmost confusion; by the mistaken policy that dictated the late Regulations: and I hope by the blessing & direction of the same providence, you will be the means of Retrieving the Commerce, the harmony, and affection that once subsisted between America & her mother Country; to which they have naturally an affectionate

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter is not dated, but it must have been written before the letter which next follows: see p. 432, below.

The ten letters in this correspondence drawn from the Dartmouth MSS are calendared in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, app. part x. pp. 16, 19, 25, 29, 34, 48, 58. I am indebted to the present Earl of Dartmouth for his courtesy in sending those ten letters to the Public Record Office for the purpose of being copied.

² Rockingham's ministry was formed in July, 1765, and Dartmouth was appointed July 19.

³ William Pitt.

and warm attachment; and you will become the object of their affection, the joy of their Heart, and the subject of their prayers, that the Divine Blessing may ever rest on you, yours & your Royall Master.

That our Commerce is diminished I can speak from my own knowledge, this year I have sent to America £10,000 less than for years past, and it is universally the case with all our Merchants, which fixing them at 30 as I did in my calculation to Lord Halifax,¹ our London Exports are already deminished £300,000 what ever may amuse you with Entries at the Custom House this is fact, and can you wonder that thousands of poor are out of work, and ripe for tumult & confusion? The Spital field Weavers are a recent instance thereof.

The reason of diminishing their imports is the scarcity of a medium of commerce &, by their inabilities to pay for what they have, they are obliged to send Specie to England, which taking the whole Quantity on the Continent is not near sufficient to pay one 20th part of their Debt.

What mischief must then arise from curbing trade with the Spaniards, who take off the surplus of American provisions, and are their only resource for Dollars?

This inability to pay for their goods lays them under a necessity of setting up Manufactures of their own, which by degrees will improve, & in time Rival ours.

The setting up Manufactures, will take off their attention from cultivating the Country which they have no incouragement to do unless Markets can be found for their produce, that being already more than sufficient for their own consumption.

Their very timber is restrain'd in going from port to port and not admitted into Ireland but it must first be landed in England.

The burthens on the Fishery are numerous, but to give it a Vital stab, the French in return for the 3^d p Gallon laid on their Molosses have laid a duty of 8/ p Quintale on our Fish brought to their Islands; to see the greatest source of our Riches & Naval power languish under such a stab must grieve every Englishman.

What adantages will be gained by all these Measures? why a *puny* sum brought into the Treasury, collected at a *vast expence*, and being against the genius of the people and contrary to the Liberty given them in their several charters, makes them look on their Mother Country as oppressers, rather than Cherisher of her Colonies, this creates animosity & hatred, and alinates the Hearts of a Million of people from the Administration, whose mutual interest is mutual affection, to Your Lord-

¹ See p. 429, above.

ship, I will allude to a text of Holy Writ "Fathers provoke not your Children to wrath least they be discouraged — and are these trifling Considerations?

There is a depth in Trade policy, as well as state politicks, and the advantages drawn from America are to arise from Commerce, not from taxes, therefore encouraging and promoting their commerce is true Trade policy; when the Duty of three pence p Gallon was contrary to all the remonstrances that could be made, and arguments brought against it, laid on; the Minister little thought the French would make reprisals, by laying so large a Duty on our Fish, which would we take off the Duty on their Melosses, its a Question if they will ever alter.

The Stamp Duty is a very heavy Burthen on those infant Colonies, and is like hanging a weight on a little Finger, because it is born by a Broad p^r of Shoulders.

These things you will easily admitt have thrown the Commerce with America into Confusion. I hope the restoring of it is an Honour reserved to your Lordship, and that it may, is the sincere wish of

My Lord

Your Lordship's

Obedient humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[*Endorsed*]

Rec^d July 1765

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH'

MY LORD

I took the Liberty to Represent to your Lordship the Distressed State of Commerce in America and the Fatal Effect it must have in Great Britain

I received yesterday a Letter from Boston that I think fully proves my Assertion that Trade in America is in the utmost Confusion

Popular Representations are often Fallacious, If the Facts are true things are often exaggerated by Passion and Prejudice, but Letters from one Friend to another without any View but that of Representing

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter was printed in the Boston Gazette of November 18, 1765, supplement, p. 1/1, preceded by the following:

Messieurs EDES & GILL,

The following Letter lately wrote by an eminent Merchant in London, to a noble Lord in the present Ministry, relative to the distressing Situation of the Colonies, I doubt not will be highly agreeable to the Publick.

naked Truth may be relied on, when the Veracity of the Person is unquestionable which is the Case before us, M^r Cary is well known to M^r Whitefield,¹ and a Person not back in his Accounts with me, who sends excuses instead of Remittance, as plainly appear, but the natural Breathing of a mind oppressed with the ruins of his Country, can any Taxes you can draw from America compensate for the misery they groan under, and the ruin of many Merchants here, can this be his Majesty's Interest? or is this prudent Treatment from a Mother Country?

I send Your Lordship the Letter itself, (which please to return me as it contains Business) that you may see my Correspondents Native Sentiments without Disguise. I have only to add that some of my Letters say that where persons are sued for Debts that have real Estates, they are obliged to sell them by Auction advertised in every News paper Considerably less than their usual Value, that the New Regulations and Taxes have sunk the Value of his Majesty's Dominions in America 20 p. Cent.

My Lord

Your Lordships most

Obedient Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.²

Artillery Court

Aug^t 6th 1765

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

There are three things in which I would be more particular than I could be in the short hints I sent Your Lordship, and without an Intention to reflect on any one Minister, as I am ignorant who were the Authors of the late Measures, just delineate them as they lye in my own mind, for Your Lordship's Consideration.

The popular cry was, that as we had been at a great expence to drive away the French and save the Americans, it was but reasonable they should refund part of that expence.

This pretence took with many unthinking people, who did not consider, that wherever the Enemy made their strongest Efforts, there the grand expence would arise.

Suppose this effort had been made in any other part of the British

¹ The Rev. George Whitefield.

² Dartmouth MSS.

Dominions, for instance had they landed in Scotland and made a rapid progress as they did in the late Rebellion, would you after the war was over, have tax'd all the Counties from which they were driven, with any new tax to refund that particular expence, on those who during the course of the War furnished a reasonable quota both of men & money, exerted themselves to the utmost, and our whole expence centred again in England, as all the money spent on our Fleet, and in our Colonies certainly did; doth not such a demand appear very absurd? was not this expence incurr'd to preserve his Majesty's Dominions, and preserve our Trade, as well as secure American property, & thereby secure our own, so intimately connected with them?

What sums have the last War been expended to preserve Hanover (which never return to Great Britain more,) do you now the War is over make a Demand on them, or any other of the German Princes for saving them from the Ravages of the French?

Why then should our Infant Colonies, labouring under their several provincial debts contracted for the common cause, and who furnish'd men for every Expedition, be singled out & loaded with such a Burthen, a burthen far superior to their ability? a Burthen which will eventually terminate on England, which every Merchant connected with America, and the Thousands of Manufacturers employ'd by those Merchants must also feel, under which they will groan, and by which they will be ruined.

Another thing is sending Troops to defend America, which indeed has a great appearance of care over them, but really is as absurd as it is needless. To send Regular Troops to a People who in a former War not only defended themselves, but fitted out an Expedition, which succeeded in taking the French capital fortress of Louisburgh, & thereby furnish'd their Mother Country with a premium to purchase Peace.

A people who, in the last War without any regular Troops to assist them defeated the French Regulars under Deskaw,¹ and had they been timely supported would have drove the French out of Canada, without that heavy expence which is now complain'd of and America called on to refund; an expence which was chiefly occasioned by the supine neglect & timid efforts of the Ministry of her Mother Country, which gave the French time to pour in Troops on the Continent of America.

Can this People with nothing but Indians behind them, from whom they have defended themselves 100 years, when French regulars are intirely removed from the Continent, have any occasion for regular

¹ Dieskau was defeated and captured by Johnson at Lake George on September 8, 1755.

troops to defend them? if they are not necessary it is creating a large expence to carry & support an useless, nay I am sorry to say, a dissolute sett of Men to live in Idleness among them, and deprave the manners of the People, which is of no small importance in Infant colonies, where the utmost industry is necessary to their own well being, and their utility to their mother Country.

If the calling on the Americans to refund expences neglect and timidity occasioned, & expences which arose for the defence of his Majesty's Dominions, and the Security of our commerce, & if regular troops are not necessary for the defence of that people, the whole system of levying Taxes falls to the ground, and there is no pretence for doing of it in violations of their Charters, Charters that will ever be held sacred by all true Englishmen, especially by those whose forefathers fled into the Wilderness to avoid the intollerable oppression, & arbitrary power of the faithless Stuarts, who look upon the peoples charters as waste paper.

It appears the late Ministry were determined to load America with Taxes without any regard to their Charters, this they must needs think would set hard on a brave and free people, whose liberty inviolably maintain'd would always occasion an accession of People to cultivate our extensive acquisitions, as well as conciliate the minds of the Canadians to an English Government, Taxes would I say set hard on them, especially such as would impoverish the whole country, occasion great discontent & animosity, therefore to stifle the popular odium, and the ferment of *above a Million* of oppress'd people, and not for their defence, land forces were necessary to be quarter'd among them, & Cruisers on their coast to prevent illicit Trade; but in reallity to keep the Colonies in awe, and carry into execution the oppressive measures; which some people have spoke out, the Colonies are growing rich, & powerful, & must be kept under; which I believe your lordship has heard.

How absurd is this? doth not, & will not, all the Riches & power of the Colonies centre in England, & make us rich and powerful, has it not really done so already? on the contrary if you stunt the growth of the Colonies, don't you hurt yourselves? is giving the dead palsey to the limbs the way to promote the health of the Body?

What ever fallacious reasoning may be urged, there is a mutual interest between Great Britain & her colonies, which will ever unite them; while sentiments of Liberty prevail and are persued, & the monster oppression banish'd from the Heart & Head of an English ministry, & they act in Character as Englishmen.

Here is a continental connection worth maintaining & cultivating; which if duly improved will furnish us with the treasures of the South,

& the necessities of the North; that riches & power, which alone can secure us, by a *family compact of our own*, which will bid defiance to the compact of Popish powers.¹

The last thing I shall trouble Your Lordship with at present is the equity of *our* taxing America, which I will fairly state as it lyes in my mind.

All the Colonies but Georgia & Nova-Scotia, were originally settled by persons drove from their native Country, in those reigns which by oppression stain'd the glory of Britain; though by the like oppressive measures she was supply'd with manufacturers from the neighbouring continent to our unspeakable advantage.

Yet oppression was so much the taste of those times, that it drove out a number of the King's subjects, who took shelter in a Desart that they might enjoy their Civil & Religious Libertys, uncontroul'd & unmolested; they were then in a state of nature, under no civil government but what they form'd themselves, when they had establish'd their several Settlements, out of regard to their mother country they sent home their several agents to tender their new acquisitions to their mother country, on certain conditions then agreed on by the several parties; & ratified by their respective Charters, which they look'd on as sacred; & make their boast of like our Magna Charta of England.

If you consider the thousands that have been expended in settling Georgia & Nova-Scotia, you will better judge of the merit of the other Colonies which settled themselves without any expence to their mother Country; without such a surrender therefore Great Britain could have no pretence to any authority over them, for the right was founded in compact, & the same compact that gives Great Britain any rightful authority over them, secures the privileges stipulated in that compact; which is the sole right of *taxing themselves* by their own Representatives, in which all their charters agree however in other circumstances they may differ, therefore any attempt to break in upon their Charters, must meet with the same reception from them as an English ministry would find from a violation of our Magna Charta; can you wonder then at any thing that has happen'd in Virginia, or in any of the other Provinces, by invectives against a Ministry that violates their Magna Charta, and deprives them of the priviledges of Englishmen, an Army therefore is necessary to carry such measures into execution tho not necessary for y^e people's defence.

¹ An allusion to the Family Compact, a treaty made in 1761 between the Bourbon dynasties of France, Spain, and the Two Sicilies, especially against England and Austria.

It was always the ambition and glory of the House of Hanover to maintain privileges of Englishmen inviolable, and it will be a standing mark of Infamy on any Minister that stains that glory by the least violation of them in America.

I submit to your Lordship's determination which is his Majesty's interest, to rule in the Hearts of a free people in America as well as in England; or by destroying their medium of Commerce which they have found useful for above 100 years, and by laying Burthens on them which they cannot but look upon as acts of abritrary power which makes them Slaves instead of Englishmen?

If at any time there is a necessity of raising money from the Colonies, let it be intimated by the several Governors to their respective assemblies, it was anually the case during the War, it will be chearfully done, and preserve *that natural deep veneration & love* which they bear their King and Mother Country.

If the facts represented to Your Lordship appear evident, and the reasoning just, their importance will apologize for this great freedom taken with Your Lordship in opening the unreserved Sentiments of

My Lord

Your Lordships

obedient Humb. Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.

My hand being Difficult to Read I ordered my Clerk to Transcribe it.¹

[Endorsed]

Rec^d Sept^r 5. 1765.

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter was printed in S. Sayre's "The Englishman deceived; a Political Piece: wherein Some very important Secrets of State are briefly recited, And offered to the Consideration of the Publick. . . . London, Printed, 1768. Salem: Re-printed . . . 1768," pp. 24-30. Sayre does not give the name of the person to whom it was written and wrongly dates it "November, 1765." Sayre also printed in the same pamphlet De Berdt's memorial to Lord Shelburne (see pp. 448-450, below), and introduced the letters with this sentence: "The following Letters, presented not long since to a noble Lord, by an old, firm, steady friend to the constitution, whose abilities enabled him to make the clearest observations, upon many years great experience will confirm this opinion" (p. 24). The pamphlet was published anonymously, but that it was written by Sayre is proved by a letter from Esther De Berdt to Joseph Reed dated May 20, 1768:

Sayre . . . has been very busy in writing his political piece, and is so now in sending them to the most considerable of the nobility and House of Commons, by the desire of his patron, General Oglethorpe, who has a very high opinion of Sayre's understanding and genius. I am so really his friend that I begin to fear the

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

Extract of a Letter from M^r John Rhea Merch^t dated "Philadelphia Oct^r 11th 1765.

"Indeed we must call aloud upon every Friend of America to write & exert themselves to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act, & also a dissolution of our Guard De Costas, who block up our ports worse than a common Enemy — I will give you only one instance of the Tyranny of those Cruisers — Pensacola is conveniently situated for a Trade with the Spaniards from La Vera Cruize, upon which account I suppose a hundred thousand pounds worth of English Goods have been sent there from New York & this place in expectation of a Trade being open'd there & by encouragement of the Governor for that purpose. This Summer a Spanish Vessel came there with half a Million of hard Dollars to buy those English Goods & the Governour consented to let her trade; But the Cap^t of a Man of War there declared that if she offer'd to land one Dollar he would seize the Vessel immediately — upon which the poor Spaniard was oblig'd to return home with his money, & the English Merchants mortified with the loss of selling their Goods — and render'd unable to make remittances for them — Now had she been suffer'd to Trade all those dollars would in six Months time have been in England as Remittances — and what injury cou'd that have been to the Nation.

"We hope the London Merchants will unite their most vigorous efforts, to get our Burthens removed. And they with ourselves will soon be able to put on another Countenance — If no relief is had I know not what will become of us. No medium of Trade will be left

effect this applause may have on his mind, but perhaps the Critical Reviewers will prevent the bad consequence, as they ever oppose books on that side of the question. I fancy the author will be guessed by those two letters of my dear father (Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 129).

The Boston Gazette of August 8, 1768, contained an "Extract from a Pamphlet lately printed in LONDON, intituled, the ENGLISHMAN DECEIVED" (p. 1/1).

The letter in the text was also printed in the Boston Gazette of December 30, 1765, where it fills the entire first page of the supplement, preceded by the following:

Messieurs EDES & GILL,
AS you inserted in your Gazette of Nov. 18, a Letter wrote by an eminent Merchant in London, to a noble Lord in the present Ministry; your publishing the following Second Letter, relative to the distressed Situation of the Colonies, I doubt not will be as highly agreeable to the Public.

“among us — no sourse for remittances — our hands tyed & what can
“we do ”

Extract of a Letter from Jos^h Reed Esq^r dated “Trenton Oct^r 5th
1765.

“This leads me in return for the publick news you give me to tell you
“how we stand affected here: and I assure you it is a most critical and
“interesting period — a flame of opposition to the Stamp Act has run
“thro’ all the Colonies, which I every moment expect to hear has broke
“out by burning the Stamps — What the issue will be is hard to tell —
“but it appears to me the whole Country is ripe for Insurrections Riot &
“Confusion, and should some resolute Fellow blow the Trumpet of
“Sedition (for such I suppose it would be call’d on your side the Atlan-
“tick) thousands would join him. We expect a total Stagnation of all
“Kinds of Business after the 1st of November. The Gen^t of the Law
“have agreed to do no bussiness that will require Stamps till we hear
“what prospect there is of redress — so that there will be no methods
“to recover debts or carry on any proceedings till that time. The most
“cool & dispassionate people dread the consequences of attempting to
“introduce them, for such is the fixed, rooted aversion to them that
“nothing but force will make them go down. No officer dares hold
“any post under the Act & we are now in a state of alarming suspense.”

MY LORD

The Letters out of which the above extracts are taken, I reced yester-
day, by which you may judge how fatal the late measures have been
and are like to be; and how easy it is to throw a Trade into confusion
but not so easy to retrieve it, for I fear if any orders have been sent to
the Cruisers, they have not yet reach’d them. If Trade with the Spani-
ards is prevented or falls into the hands of the French & Dutch (neither
of whom will refuse Dollers) it may never return to us, & then Florida will
not only be useless from its scituation & Soil but a great Incumbrance,
and great expence to supply it with Inhabitants whom the Climate will
continually destroy if they attempt to labour, as was the case for many
years in Georgia, untill they imploy’d Negroes; but make it the Market
of the Spaniards, you see by this instance the Treasure it will bring to
England thro’ the Continent of America; if not interrupted by oppres-
sion, and can any taxes compensate such a loss? or equal the mischief
that must arise from the universal Tumults of that extensive Country;
and the General discontent of the Merchants and Manufacturers here

which I assure your Lordship is very Great & will be severely felt this Winter all over the Kingdom. Will not his Majesty's benevolence to his people for which he is so remarkable induce him to give some hint from the Throne in favour of America. It would prodigiously endear him to the People there who are from their Cradle taught Loyalty to the House of Hanover, and affection to their Mother Country with a delicate sense of English Liberty.

Your Lordships

Obedient Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

Decem^r 3^d 1765.

[Addressed]

To the Right Honour^{ble} Lord Dartmouth

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

I saw a Letter by the last Ship from New York which gives a very modest moving Account of the situation of Affairs in America, which I thought it my duty to communicate to your Lordship in its native simplicity.

Extract of a Letter from M^r Will^m Donaldson of New York.

"The face of money is hardly to be seen in this Country, every man is suing his Neighbour which produces daily Bankruptcy & the most pitiable scenes of distress; a Farm in this Neighbourhood was sold a few weeks agoe by the sheriff for £350 which the owner refused £1200 for 18 M^{os} agoe, such is the alteration of times here, owing chiefly to the scarcety of money & distress on Commerce, & these owing to the late measures of the ministry, which if not discontinued will ruin this Country, & England will feel the effects of it.

You Sir, may Judge what Effects England must feel, *and Immediately feel*, when I acquaint your Lordship, I have been Informed that America owes England Six Millions sterling I sett it in my own mind at four, but it seems I am under in my estimate, to have six Million stoped in its Circulation must bring distress & ruin on multitudes both of merchants & Manufacturers, not in one particular Country but throughout the whole Kingdom.

At the Peace of Aix-La-Chapel² it was esteem'd an object that after

¹ Dartmouth MSS.

² In 1748.

the taking of Bergen op Zoom the French had it in their power to overrun Holland, who were so connected with us in Commerce, that it would be the ruin of our Merchants. Is not the reason stronger against oppressing America? will not the Thousands of Poor who will be unemployed this Winter be ripe for Tumult & Mischief? & will the French be Idle Spectators to such scenes of confusion as will arise both at Home & in America; we have no reason to expect such a favour, & they have ever been too eagle eyed to miss an opportunity of Annoying us, nor must we expect it, while we are rivals in Trade & Power, that the single Question seems to be, shall we relieve America or bring distruction on our selves.

I think I may venture to say neither the Circumstances nor Facts are at all exagerated by My Lord

Your Lordships obedient

Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.¹

[Addressed]

To the Right Honourable Lord Dartmouth.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

MY LORD

The Inclosed Letter² wrote by four Members of the Assembly and wrote with so much Temper and Candour that it would not I thought be unacceptable to your Lordship, as well as an Extract out of another Letter both Received today.

Your Lordships

Obed^t Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.³

Fryday 4 Clock

[Endorsed]

M^r De Berdt, Feb^y 7. 1766.

¹ Dartmouth MSS. Apparently written late in 1765.

² The "Inclosed Letter," signed by James Otis, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, and Thomas Gray, dated December 20, 1765, is printed in Writings of Samuel Adams, i. 61-71, and also in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 6-13. The "Extract" is from a letter dated Charlestown, December 21, 1765.

³ Dartmouth MSS.

DE BERDT TO JOSEPH REED

LONDON, March 18th, 1766

DEAR SIR —

I doubt not but this will be welcome to you on more accounts than one, especially as it brings you an account of the complete repeal of the Stamp Act, which we send by a vessel hired on purpose to ease the minds of our friends in America as soon as possible, by a general letter to each Province. I hoped it might give you some weight in the Province to have a particular letter by the Merchants' Express, which also gives me an opportunity of immediately answering yours of the 13th January, per Packet. . . . I am very glad to hear your health is restored, which will better enable you to bear the burthen Providence at present lays upon you. . . . I am glad to hear what I wrote pleases my friends. I wrote it in the sincerity of my heart to serve them, and your showing it prudently does me honor; but some letters I have sent to New York have been imprudently printed there in the News, which coming back here may give offence, and thereby weaken my interest. I have much money locked up in America. To you, as a friend, I may say £50,000, that more business like that circulates would only embarrass me. If I can be publicly useful in the last stage of life, it will be a peculiar pleasure to me. I have pursued your affairs with all my might, and think myself very happy that I introduced the Congress Petition before the House without offending the Ministry, notwithstanding the Congress itself was deemed illegal, which had its full weight by Mr. Pitt's taking it up, and declared that the greatest defect he saw in it was that one of the petitioners' name was "OLIVER:"¹ but Denny wrote you the affair at large as I had not time. But I have wrote you several letters from time to time, which, as they are received will relieve you. *Though when you are warmed with gratitude, be not so forward in raising money on any occasion but that of a new war, which, in my opinion, may not be at a great distance.* We have every year such encroachments and broils about the Fishery. I thank you for your hint about Nova Scotia. It is in general a bleak, barren country, but shall judge of that when you write more fully on that head. I wish in return I had influence enough in America to procure you a good Agency, for it is generally thought your friend Mr. (Jackson) will resign. You shall have the advice, weight, and influence of

Yours truly,

D. DE BERDT.²

¹ Oliver Partridge, a member of the Stamp Act Congress from Massachusetts.

² W. B. Reed's *Life of Esther De Berdt*, pp. 77-79.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

ENFIELD. Aug^t 5th, 1766.

MY LORD

I last night rec^d your obliging Favour with M^r Buell's Narrative,¹ which I will return your Lordship by the Penny Post tomorrow, for since I had the Honour of Waiting on your Lordship Two other Friends have sent me one;

Your mentioning the Care you took of the Boston address is very obliging, and gives me hopes you was not in the Kings Closett to Resign, as well, and gives me Hopes you will not, for the Eyes of all the Children of God in America are (under God) on you, and you have their Prayers as well as thanks, and I hope no little matter will prevail on you to Decline Serving them still, tho you cannot Do it in the Effectual manner you wish, some times patient Perseverance obtains an End, a hasty measure cannot, To the Guidance and ynfluence of the Divine Emanuel I would committ you, who is never at a Loss to Compass his own ends tho we often are.

Sur it must be a misinformation that Boston has *refused*² to make the Satisfaction the Parliament Recommend^d it must be only a *Delay* I will write to the Speaker on the Head by the Packett on Saturday and a Ship that goes tomorrow for I think the thing so Equitable and Reasonable I should be ashamd the Assembly I have the Honour to Represent should Refuse it, and as they are Professors of Religion every one looks for their Halting, and indeed they should do more than others.

Nor is it Complying with the Terms of their address. I have also Rec^d since I saw you the Anexd Letter of Judge Smith, by which you will see that Province also Wants a Prudent Friend, however the Religious State of things will give Your Lordship Pleasure under all your Toils To contribute to which in the Remotest manner will afford great satisfaction to

My Lord

Your Lordships obedient Humble Servant

DENNY DE BERDT.³¹ See p. 323, above.² See p. 322, above.³ Dartmouth MSS.

DE BERDT TO LORD DARTMOUTH

, ENFIELD, Aug^t 22^d 1766.

MY LORD

Your Condescending and obliging Favour of the 13th¹ fills me with fresh Concern, (and that Concern will run throughout America) at your Lordships Resignation, as it Discovers that Paternal affection which America must not expect from a Stepmother.

Your Sentiments of that People are exceeding Just, and the sound Principles of Religion & Government of those with whom I have been Connected, do certainly entertain; has greatly Endear'd me to that Country, and I am satisfied had your Lordships Connection with them been longer, & more Intimate, it would have further engaged your Attention, and would have given your Lordship a high Satisfaction, to see Religion and Liberty Flourishing under your auspicious Influence; and it gives me a Pleasure to be the Medium of conveying to You the Gratefull Sentiments the House of Representatives, (on the Behalf of that Province)² Testifie to your Lordship; and Several other of their Patrons (as far as they have come to their Knowledge) by a Vote of their Assembly which accompanies this, and by their Letter to me that attended it plainly Discover their Duty and affection to their King, and Mother Country; which will ever be growing, and encreasing, while a Paternal Care & Authority is exercised over the whole Famely.

The only quietting Consideration, is, as your Lordship Hints, that the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth, and I cannot but hope in his own way, and time, Your Lords^p will be placed by Providence, in a Station to serve America in which they will Rejoice; and to which you have no Aversion; *and he that Believeth must not make haste.*

My last Accounts from America give me Concern, as they Inform me of the Declining State of President Finly of the Jersey Colledge, (the only Colledge where Vital Religion is Regarded) who is hardly in our World. it being apprehended his Liver is grown to his Side, which he could not many Days survive: but if the Government of the World is on those sholders which is well able to sustain the Weight, the Church shall not be neglected, by Him whose Care over, and Compassion for his

¹ Dartmouth's letter of August 13, 1766, is printed in W. B. Reed's *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, i. 46-47.

² Massachusetts. On June 20, 1766, the Massachusetts House voted their thanks to various persons, among them Shelburne, Dartmouth, and George Cooke (*Journals*, pp. 108-109). Cushing's letter to De Berdt of June 28 is printed in *Massachusetts Papers*, pp. 14-16.

Church is Infinite, his Power uncontrollable, and whose Grace is abundant; and can furnish Supplies, and Instruments for his Service unknown to, and unthought of by us.

Wishing Your Lordship Health in your Retirement from the Hurries of the Court and much of the Presence of God to sweeten every Enjoyment I am

My Lord

Your Lordships obed^t Humble servant

DENNYS DE BERDT.

P. S. I dont find the Petition of the House which You comitted to the Care of the Duke of Richmond in the Gazette tho there is that of the Governour and Councill, and that of the Jerseys, I hope his Grace in his Hurry did not forgett to Deliver it which would have an unfavourable Aspect on the Assembly, when they really were exemplary in their Zeal for a Priority of Duty and affection.¹

DE BERDT TO ———

LONDON October 2^d 1766

SIR

On the other side is Copy of my last to which Please to Refer I have since Recived from Lord Shelburne his thanks to your Assembly for the Respectfull Vote of your House which I Deliverd him, which is Inclosed with this

Sir

Hour obed Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT ²

[Endorsed]

Letter from D^s de Berdt

2^d Oct. 1766

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO LORD SHELburne

TO THE RIGHT HONBLE LORD SHELburne ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPLE SECRETARIES OF STATE, THE MEMORIAL OF DENNYS DE BERDT AGENT FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Humbly Sheweth

That the said Colony duly Observes, & are thankfull for, the great tenderness & concern, the present & late Ministry have discovered for the

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This letter is printed in part in W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, pp. 89-90.

² Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 517. Pages 515-516 contain a copy of De Berdt's letter to Cushing of September 19, 1766. See pp. 325-326, above.

interest of that Colony. & the ample Testimony they have given of their readiness to relieve them of every Burden relating to their Commercial Interest, induces them to make the following Representation of the Embarrassments which at present attend their Trade

Your Mem^{ist} humbly begs leave to represent to your L^{dsp} several things contained in his Instructions the Restriction of the Trade to the Sugar Islands & the heavy Duty imposed on foreign Sugars, will destroy our Navigation & fishery & will prevent any but the finest sorts, being Imported into Am & thereby give the french the advantage of Manufacturing them

The deeming all Sugars imported from the Continent, french, prevents a valuable return to G B for her Manufactures

The great care of the Officers in America in Loading Vessels there, makes it needless for those Vessels to call & unload at G B. occasions so large an expence, as entirely to distroy that trade

The Multiplicity of Bonds, occasions an Expence equal to the first cost of the Lumber & some of them are twelve months before they are Cancelld

Another Grievance is the unlimited power of the Officer to carry the Vessel he seizes into what port he pleases on the Continent, & after Miscarring in a tedious process is liable to no Cost

Your Memor' Constituents further observe, that in those ports were a regular Customhouse is settled the Naval Officer may be removed.

Another difficulty is on their trade, to Spain & Portugal by the ships from thence, being obliged to stop in Eng^d by which fruit & other perishable Comodities are liable to be spoiled, by the lenght of the Voyage

But the grand matter of Complaint is the Restraint laid on their fishery no Americans being suffered to take Cod in the Streights of Belisle or on Lobradore shore, & thereby rendering our new Watery acquisitions entirely useless, & the Restraint itself be attended with a very large Expence, & Instead of endeavouring to make the most of that extensive fishery, it is become a Scene of Violence between the Europeans & Americans — the Interruption of the fishery is weakening our Naval power, & depriving the Americans, of the most Valuable Source for taking off & paying for the Manufacturs of G B

Your Memor^t takes the Liberty to lay before your L^{dsp} A few Sentiments relating to the fishery — that enexhaustable fund of Riches & power to G B, this valuable treasure may be viewed in a twofold light, As a Nursery for Seamen, & as occasioning a Consumption of & affording means to pay for our Manufactures

The fishery carried on from G B to America may produce a Number of Seamen for the speedy maning a fleet, the N E fishery in the Streights of Belisle &c is absolutely necessary, for furnishing sailors either for the recruit of the Cruize, or acting offensively in America, as it is remarkably evident they did, when the forces of Amer without any assistance from home took the strong fortress of Cape Breton, & therefore they are as really necessary as the European supplies

The other View of the fishery, is its being a Source of Riches, nay an enexhaustable Source, exceeding the Mines of Mexico & Peru, to lay any Restraint upon it in this View, is diminishing the National Treasures, stinting the growth of the Colonies, & the greatest disadvantage to the Manufacturs of G B restraints that are laid upon it are of that nature, that Your Memorialist apprehends they will not be fully Removed, but by an Act of Parliament, to Explain that of William 3^d and give free liberty to all British Subjects to improve the fishery to the utmost, which greatly Strengthen our Naval power

Your Memorialist Constituents, have such an Opinion of the Justice & Wisdom of the present Administration that they doubt not it will appear reasonable to them & that as soon as these greivances are made known they will be redressed¹

[*Endorsed*]

Memorial

To L^d Shelburne

1767

D'Berdt about fisheries

DE BERDT'S MEMORIAL TO LORD SHELburne²

MY LORD

It is now received as an universal proposition, that the Strength, Riches & Influence of Great Britain, depend upon Commerce; whatever therefore diminishes our Commerce must enfeeble & weaken our national Influence.

Our Commerce, has been greatly curtail'd in most parts of Europe and we have therefore, only, our Connections with America to trust to, as the Source of our Strength, Riches & Felicity: hence every thing that interrupts & weakens the mutual Confidence (which has been re-

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society. Printed in Massachusetts Papers, pp. 44-46. Perhaps drawn up in the fall of 1767: see p. 453, below.

² This memorial, though without precise date, must have been written early in 1767: see De Berdt's letters of February 14 and March 9, 1767, pp. 450-451, below.

markable for a hundred years past) between Great Britain & her Colonies, must enfeeble the Strength & diminish the Riches of the Mother Country.

The advantages to be drawn from our American Colonies, must arise; not from Taxes of any kind; but from extending our Trade. — Whatever Measures straiten & cramp our Trade, can never be compensated by any Taxation; nor can any thing be an equivalent, for the decay of that mutual Harmony & friendly intercourse which are the necessary Cement of our Trade with them.

So deep a Scar was made by the late Stamp act, as is not entirely heal'd; making any fresh Wounds, in our commerce, if persisted in must, unavoidably occasion painfull Sensations, not only in America, but in Great Britain, and be felt, not merely by the Merchants, but with every Manufacturer with whom they are connected; and no one corner of the Kingdom will escape the banefull Influence.

To put any difficulties on the American Trade, will inevitably, lessen our exports to that Country, from their inability to pay y^e Merchant for the Manufactures imported by them, which inability must be the same, whether the people in America resolve to take goods or not.

Governors & Judges, being independent on the people, must render the course of Justice, precarious, will be a farther discouragement to Trade, & raise fresh in the Minds of the Americans, the Evils that attended such a measure when their fore Fathers left their native Country.

When the Merchants dare no longer venture their Substance on such uncertainties; the Americans will be under the necessity of using their own Manufactures: tho' contrary to their present Taste & Inclination: to prevent them pursuing this only resource & remedy, must be the most manifest Injustice; & as absurd, as to make a Law, obligeing them to go naked.

The only methods to secure our mutual Interests, and effectually prevent the Americans going into Manufactures, must be to encourage the cultivating their Lands, and extending their Commerce, and thereby enable them to pay for the various Merchandizes of Great Britain, which at present lie on hand for want of a Market, and will leave thousands of our Poor unemployed, ripe for Tumult & Confusion.

I submit to Your Lordship's superior Judgment, if any Sum of Money, raised by Taxes, can compensate the Evils which must inevitably follow discourageing a Trade to the amount of Two Millions a year & which employs a hundred thousand Hands, who are already in the greatest distress thro' the dearness of Provisions; and whose Miseries before

the Winter is out, may make them Desperate; as well as losing the Confidence & Esteem of two Millions of the most Loyal Subjects in his Majesties Dominions; and whose Affection to their Mother Country is strong & natural.

I am Your Lordship's
most Obedient Humble Servant
DENNY'S DE BERDT.¹

[*Endorsed*]

M^r De Berdt to the E. of Shelburne, 1767. On the trade with America.

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

[February 14, 1767]

SIR

Since my receiving your judicious, pertinent and decent Representation of the Difficulties your Trade laboured under, I have had several Conferences with Lord SHELburne on the Subject of it, who has been so obliging as to direct me to lay the Case before him, in Form of a Memorial, with which his own Secretary will attend me to the Board of Trade, and has promis'd his Interest to serve you, which Memorial now lays before his Lordship — The Restraints laid on the Fishery will be remov'd.

The Government are about to call Home the Troops from America, and place others in their Room. The preparing for the Embarking of which has occasioned much Speculation here, and the Report runs that there are fresh Troops going to America, which occasioned my particular Application to Lord SHELburne on that Head, who was so condescending and obliging as to assure me, I might satisfy all my Friends that there was no Intention of augmenting the Forces in America, but a mere Exchange.²

¹ Dartmouth MSS. This memorial was printed in 1768 by Sayre in his *Englishman deceived*, etc., Salem, pp. 30–32, where it is dated "January, 1768;" and also in *Massachusetts Papers*, pp. 46–48.

² Boston Gazette, April 27, 1767, p. 3/1. This letter is preceded in the Gazette by the following:

By the February Packet a Letter has been received from DENNY'S DE BERDT, Esq; directed to the Speaker of the late House of Representatives, and dated the 14th of February last — As the Minds of many Persons are disturb'd with Apprehensions that the Ministry and the Parliament are displeas'd with the Representations lately sent Home by the House, and that we are to be punish'd with Troops to keep us in Order, we have obtain'd an Extract of the Letter, which we now publish for the Information and Comfort of the good People of the Province.

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON March 9: 1767

GENTL^a

I duly received your obliging favour of the 17 Jan^y accompanying a Petition to the House of Commons, which I shall Tomorrow lay before Lord Shelburn as I have done the former representation of your house, by way of memorial several weeks agoe and as he is so good a friend to America shall take his advice which way to proceed

The New York Petition had some warm express^a which gave offence to the House & the Petition was ordered to lay on the Table

The advantages you represent are very obvious but weither at this Time, you can be so fully relieved I cannot determine, but you may depend no Zeal nor Caution on my part shall be wanting & am with real esteem

Your obedient Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT¹

To the Committee of
Merchants at Boston

[Addressed]

To

The Comittee of Merchants
In
Boston

DE BERDT TO THE BOSTON MERCHANTS

LONDON Mar. 14. 1767

GENTLEMEN

I yesterday waited on Lord Shelburne with your Petition, to take his advice in the Affair, and as nothing can be carried without his weight and influence & as a friend to America he cou'd not advise me to push it just at this juncture, when the Enemies of America are so numerous, and the House very much offended at the Conduct of New York, which is to be, in a formal manner, brought before the House on Tuesday, and will occasion a great deal of debate — Several of the Complaints you make are already relieved, particularly the Restriction of the Trade to Ireland, which you had not heard when your Petition was sent — Your Grievances were very well stated and decently expressed, but I am fully

¹ Massachusetts Historical Society.

satisfied, there is nothing can be done at present, but I wait a more favourable opportunity, which I shall not fail to embrace

The article of the fishery, which is of the greatest importance, Lord Shelburne promises me to take under his peculiar inspection, and will exactly examine Govern^r Palliser's ¹ instructions, that nothing to your prejudice may be inserted, unless your fishermen run into an illicit Trade with the french, which the Ministry are justly determined to suppress, which shou'd be matter of caution to every fishing Vessel

I have had several Conversations, by Lord Shelburn's Order, with Governor Palliser, and he promised me strictly to adhere to Orders, and execute them with the greatest Lenity, which its evident he did not do the last year; but he is now under the immediate inspection of that Noble Lord, who assures me, he has the prosperity of the fishery at Heart, and will do every thing in his power to promote it. He really appears to be a warm friend to America, and deserves your gratitude and confidence. I shall endeavour to see my Lord again, before Governor Palliser sails, to engage him in the strict examination of the Governor's Orders, which he has promised to make

I am with great esteem

Gentlemen

Your Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT ²

[Addressed]

To

The Committ^e of Merchants

at

Boston

N E

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON Sept^r 3, 1767

THOMAS CUSHING ESQ^R

S^r

I had the Honor of yours of 3^d July giving me an account of the Votes past in your House for granting me £300, which I since hear the Govern^r has not confirmed — I am obliged to the House for this Instance of their Respect & when Noted to me in form I shall return them a regular answer, your chearfulness in serving the Troops is an evidence of your

¹ Sir Hugh Palliser (1723-1796), Governor of Newfoundland.

² Massachusetts Historical Society.

Loyalty & duty to his Majesty, which I shall not fail to represent as I have opportunity & am

Your mo: obed^t hum: Serv^t

DENNYS DE BERDT ¹

DE BERDT TO ———

LONDON 21^t of oct^r 1767

SIR,

I have the honour of your Letter from the House, and with regard to the affair of the Fishery; I had made application for removing your greivances before I rec^d this your Letter from the House, and as I have heard no complaints this Season I flatter myself the Effort was not fruitless.

I was well apprised how happily you were releived from the late diffculties of a paper currency and the contentment the sensible part of your Province experience in having a solid Medium to have even recommended a change from a good & solid Coin to a precarious & pernicious currency. and whenever is under consideration. I shall act agreeable to the precautions in your Letter.

The Limits of the Colonies whenever any disputes arise about them are always refer'd to the Board of Trade and the Lords of Trade according to the evidence produced report the same to the King & Council: so that I can do nothing in the Matter as Agent of the Province untill my appointment under the Seal of the Province is register'd at that Board: which would also give me additional weight in every other application.

I am with the highest Esteem yours and
the House's devoted Humble Servant

DENNYS DE BERDT ²

DE BERDT TO JOSEPH REED

OCTOBER 21, 1767.

I carried Mr. Sayre to Lord Shelburne, on his arrival, where he saw Mr. Morgan.³ . . . The Ministry give us the strongest assurance that they will never injure the liberties of America, whatever mistakes they may be led into by designing people. Lord Shelburne intends to have

¹ Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 525.

² Massachusetts Archives, lvi. 534-535.

³ Maurice Morgann (1726-1802).

me with him in a few days to make some inquiry, &c., into your affairs, the result of which I shall venture to communicate to you, who are too prudent to make private conversation public.¹

DE BERDT TO THOMAS CUSHING

LONDON May 16th 1768

SIR

Since my last I received your several Letters which I delivered as directed & at Lord Shelburnes desire sent him your Judicious observations on British Liberty which sentiments are exactly my own, but have not been admitted to converse with his Lordship on that head, nor has he return'd me the papers.

It is at present a time of great confusion, the heats & animosities of Electing new Members of Parliament are not yet subsided, universal discontent on account of the dearness of provision spreads itself throughout the Kingdom & will take up the whole attention of the Legislature, that I dont apprehend anything will be done in American affairs, however you may rely on my watching, the most favorable opportunity to throw in your petition, which at present will be by no means proper.

It gives me concern as the prosperity of America in conjunction with her Mother Country lies near the heart of

Sir

Your most Obed & humb^e Serv^tDENNY DE BERDT ²

[Addressed]

To

Tho^s Cushing Esq^r.Speaker of the hon^{ble} House of
Representatives

Boston

p^r packet

[Endorsed]

De Berdts Letter

May 14. 1768

¹ W. B. Reed's Life of Esther De Berdt, p. 121.

² Massachusetts Archives, xxii. 516-517. Printed in Massachusetts State Papers, p. 142.

The letters and documents in Massachusetts Papers are inaccurately printed. Copies of such as are also printed in our text have been obtained from the originals in the Massachusetts Historical Society. See p. 296 note 2, above.

DE BERDT'S REMARKS

REMARKS.

I. **A**S no man, nor body of men, is endued with perfect wisdom; it cannot be deemed an impeachment of the wisdom of Parliament, to point out the evils that may be experienced from any law it has made, presuming always, that as such a consequence was totally abhorrent from the intention of those who enacted it, so it must be the strongest motive for its repeal. We are fully justified in this, by knowing that Parliament has frequently repealed its own Acts, from such a sense of their imperfections; in which it certainly manifested its wisdom as much as its justice. For next to avoiding error, it is the greatest proof of wisdom to retract from it when unavoidably incurred.

No stronger proof can be produced of the impropriety of any Law, than the universal discontent which its operation excites among those whom it affects. Neither can there exist a more persuasive reason in policy or in justice for its being repealed.

Let us apply this reasoning to the late Laws concerning *America*.

[16] Our wise forefathers drew a line between the supreme legislative power of the Mother-Country and the constitutional rights of her Colonies, as free-born *English* Subjects. That line, though it trenched upon the full liberties of a free people, did not sap the fundamental principles of *British* Liberty. It limited and restrained the commerce of the Colonies to the emolument of the Mother-Country. But the internal regulation of the state, and especially that great and all-securing privilege of disposing of their property, acquired within those commercial limitations, by their own consent only, was left untouched. Happy within this line, the Colonies grew strong, and flourished in themselves, becoming at the same time the sources of opulence and strength to *Britain*. They were truly arrows in the quiver of the Mother-Country, with which she might meet her enemy in the gate without fear. Loyalty to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and the most cordial affection to the people, flowed from *America* to this country for near two centuries, in one golden and uninterrupted stream. History does not contain a single instance of general disaffection or disloyalty in the Colonies, from their first settlement to the conclusion of the late War.

Such *was* the state of *America*: how shall we bear to see what *is* the state of that people?

In the year 1764, the Parliament of *England* first declared its determination to pass that line, [17] and grant to his Majesty a revenue out

of the property of his *American* Subjects. This declaration was immediately drawn into execution by certain duties laid for the purpose of raising a revenue. And since that time, hardly a year has passed without some Law or Regulation for the Colonies, grounded on that declaration.

This is the fact; — But what has been the consequence of this measure? From one end of the Continent to the other *universal discontent*. Their discontent vented itself at first in the most pathetic complaints; and from complaints they proceeded to the most alarming actions. Till at length, one aggravating measure succeeding another, they are brought at this time to a state that threatens the fundamental principles of commercial connection between us; and the total loss of every benefit derived from it.

Such being the consequences of the whole system of *American* Laws and Regulations since the period I have mentioned, will any honest man say it is not *bad*? will any wise man say it is not to be *retracted*? Can it be a small injury that has inflamed and irritated, almost to an appeal to heaven, a whole people, hitherto untainted with disloyalty, untroubled with commotions, and unalterable in their affections for their fellow-subjects of this country? Could any but the most violent causes produce such violent effects as have [18] drawn from the throne here the charge of being little less than rebellion, and threaten the total destruction of our *American* commerce? Surely, it were as wise to suppose, that the gentlest breath of wind would work the calm surface of the ocean into raging billows; as that the rooted loyalty and attachment of *America*, can have been shaken thus, but by grievances real in themselves and deeply felt.

The danger then that impends from the present universal discontent and inflamed state of *America*, arising from these causes, is great; but happily it may be avoided with ease. Remove the cause, and the effects will cease; abolish the whole system of *American* Laws and Regulations since 1764, restore them to the state in which the wisdom of our forefathers placed them, and to the good policy of which two centuries have given their most ample approbation. This is the method, and I will venture to say the only method, of re-establishing the peace of *America* and the peace of *Great Britain*. The *Americans* are content to be *sub-ordinate*; but they never will submit to be *enslaved*. It is not a time for trying expedients, there is not a temper in *America* to be played with; there is no alternative, dreadful as it may seem, but to exterminate her inhabitants or restore to them the violated rights of free-men. Let humanity, let justice, let wisdom determine, which measure shall be pursued.

[19] Had there been any necessity for innovating on the former Con-

stitution of the Colonies, the innovation should have been modelled by wisdom and justice.

For, as Mr. *Hume* wisely observes on government in general, "to tamper in this affair, or to try projects merely upon the credit of supposed argument and philosophy, can never be the part of a wise Magistrate, who will bear a reverence to what carries the marks of age: And though he may attempt some improvements for the public good, yet will he adjust his innovations, as much as possible to the *ancient fabric*, and preserve entire the chief pillars and supports of the constitution."

What are the fruits of this *American* project, is but too manifest. Alarm, discontent, resolutions in vindication of their rights, associations to redress them by breaking off all commerce with the Mother-Country, and an evident determination to appeal to heaven rather than submit to this new-exerted authority. Are there any probable benefits held out to us by the Advocates for this System, adequate to the risk we run, the loss we incur, and the miseries we are to occasion? Certainly there are not. They flatter our prejudices, raise our jealousies, and excite our indignation; but neither these passions nor these Counsellors will ever teach us to remedy the evils, which they may prompt [20] us to bring both upon *America* and upon ourselves.

II. In whatever light the people of *America* view the late system of government devised for them, it appears full fraught with danger and oppression. Their Governors and Judges being there *during pleasure*, are totally dependent for their places on the crown, and might become the instruments of any arbitrary measures, were they not restrained by depending on the representatives of the people for their Salaries. It is one object of the Revenue to be raised upon *America*, without their consent, to absolve them from this popular dependence by annexing stipends to their offices. The crown would then be in the uncontrouled possession both of the whole executive and judicial powers, and in effect of the legislative. For the people being deprived essentially of their share in the legislative, by being divested of the right of *giving* their own money through their Representatives, would be absolutely at the mercy of the crown, without one controuling power or constitutional security. If this be not alarming to a people hitherto in possession of this security, and justly sensible of the benefits they derived from it; what can be so, or what farther deprivation of liberty can they possibly suffer, who submit to this? And can we with any sense of justice censure them for contending against it; especially if we find the [21] very same reasons, as was most certainly the case, to have governed us in taking arms against

the meditated tyranny of *Charles* the first? It was then that the people of this country obtained the security of having the Judges appointed during good behaviour, which they would resign with as much reluctance as the *Americans* do that which supplies its place, the right of voting their Salaries.

It were much to be wished, that the recent instance of an *American* Governor, had not given too just a foundation for the apprehension expressed in this Letter, that a dangerous credit might be given to the representations of Crown-Officers in *America*, and the Nation here led into destructive mistakes by their misrepresentations.

III. One would imagine that the offering such a reason for this unusual method of raising money was done in derision of even common sense, and common justice. For could ever this reason be urged with less propriety, than after a War in which the Colonies had granted supplies for these very purposes, with a readiness and zeal which involved them in a great and most distressing debt; and had actually drawn from Parliament a grant of money as some compensation for the excessive burdens they had sustained. Was this a time at which they could bear to be insulted with a suspicion of not being willing to provide for their own security, protection and defence; and upon that [22] suspicion divested of their ancient and essential rights?

From the commencement to the end of the late War, the assemblies of the Colonies contributed to its support largely and cheerfully, both in men and money. They shared in all its hardships, in all its expences: they expected that the Peace, which crowned a glorious and successful, though expensive War, would leave them in security. How great then was their surprize to find their liberties taken from them, under a pretence of providing for that very security, which they had flattered themselves was established by eight years prodigal effusion of their blood and treasure? Whoever will consider how severely such an attempt must have operated on the minds of men, yet bleeding from the wounds, and groaning under the expences incurred by their loyalty and zeal in supporting the war; will not wonder at the flame that burst forth in consequence of it, through all his Majesty's *American* dominions? they felt themselves mortally injured, and they resented it as a free people will ever do, with violence and rage. More temper in representing their grievances was certainly desirable; but in such circumstances, it was more to be desired than expected.

At this time, when the most daring and fatal violations are offered to the liberty of the subject here unimpeached and unpunished; it is not won-[23]derful that the same Ministers should have made the most

flagrant invasions on the constitutions in *America*, with equal impunity. But either the people, by tamely bearing these injuries, must sink into the most abject bondage, or the day of inquiry must soon arrive. When that comes, *They* will answer at their peril who have advised his Majesty to set up a *standing Army in America above the controul of all civil authority*.^{*} In the mean time I will venture to pronounce it impeachable matter, as well in behalf of the *State* as in behalf of the *Person* of his Majesty, which is more sacred in his *civil*, than in his *military* capacity.

IV. The Commission here alluded to, is formed in the most arbitrary mould, that the most tyrannous times could invent. That too, is to be hoped, will be a subject of future inquiry, and redress. But what I would particularly, at this time, offer to the attention of the public, is the extreme abuse and imposition that has been thrown upon them, by the advisers and abettors of this [24] scheme of taxation; for carrying which into execution, this Board of Commissioners, with all the most arbitrary powers, was established.

The Tax has been regularly collected through *America*. I assert this, not only from a knowledge of the fact, but from the acknowledgement of the Ministerial People in the H——e of C——s. Yet from the Accounts laid before the House, last Session, the whole produce of the Tax, which in its effects is attended with so many dangerous consequences to the peace of *America*, and the Commerce of *Great Britain*, is not a fraction to the public. They have contrived to appropriate the whole produce of this Revenue, to the maintainance of a crew of Officers. A set of Caitiff wretches, who, in league with the Incendiary of *America*, are endeavouring by every possible misrepresentation to incite this country to persevere in measures from which they are to derive their incomes, by the misery and ruin of millions. It is to the informations of these interested men, that some people pretend there is officially a credit due. As if an interest to deceive were an earnest of sincerity; and truth were to be despised, because it came not from the Servants of the Crown.

Now can any thing be more criminal, than to endeavour to persuade men, that the support of this barren Tax, at all events, is necessary to

^{*} As it has been denied that the military were set above the controul of the civil authority, the reader is referred for the truth of it, to the following Answer to a Message from the House of Representatives of *Massachuset's-Bay*, dated May 31, 1769.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have no authority over his Majesty's Ships in this port, or his Troops within
"this Town."

"FRANCIS BERNARD.

maintain the supremacy of this Nation over her disaffected [25] Colonies, and to alleviate the burden of the national debt, under which she groans? When the undeniable fact is, that there subsists no disaffection in *America*; nor can any alleviation be drawn from a Revenue, which is totally consumed by the Officers who collect it. Nor, were the produce to increase seventy-fold, is it probable the public would reap from it the least benefit; because the Commissioners are *strangely* empowered to create as many Officers as they may think proper, and appoint them what salaries they please out of the Revenue. So that it may well be presumed, they will increase their Officers, and augment their Salaries, in proportion to the fertility of the Revenue. Though it must be confessed, there is little probability of its increasing.

V. Nothing can be more certain, than that without the intervention of the legislative, the executive government, unless it were military, could not exist in the Colonies. Therefore they who have devised this new System, either act without a plan, or they mean to change the old form, modelled by the free principles of the *British* Constitution, into an absolute military Government. And it is the duty of every honest man, *to use his utmost efforts, and offer up his most earnest prayers to heaven, that they may never succeed.*

I have observed in the commencement of these REMARKS, that nothing but an abolition of the [26] system adopted in the 4th year of his present Majesty, can regain the affections of the People of *America*, retrieve our Commerce, and recal that confidence in the honour, wisdom and justice of *Great Britain*, which is essentially necessary to the subordination of one free People to another. This opinion I mean expressly to repeat, and that I may be perfectly understood, I must beg the reader's attention to the following enumeration of their grievances, arising from that system, which, to compose this ruinous contention, must be fully redressed.

First, The having their Property given away without their participation or consent, as by the Acts of the 4th GEO. III. ch. 15. the 6th GEO. III. ch. 18. the 7th GEO. III. ch. 46.

Secondly, The introduction of the odious and arbitrary powers of *Excise*, into the *Customs* of *America*; as in 7th GEO. III. ch. 41. for enabling his Majesty to establish a Board of Commissioners in *America*, with what powers he pleased; and in the 5th GEO. III. ch. 15. with the 8th GEO. III. ch. 22. for erecting Vice-Admiralty Courts in *America*, making all causes of Revenue triable in them, either by original process, or by appeal, without Jury, and under the decision of a dependent Party-Judge.

[27] *Thirdly*, His Majesty's Commission to the *American* Board of Commissioners, which lays open the subject's House to the will and pleas-

ure of them and their Servants; without warrant upon oath, or the intervention of the civil magistrate.

Fourthly, Taking from the Assemblies of *America* all freedom of debate and determination, by the Act of 7th GEO. III. ch. 59. for suspending the legislative power of *New-York*.

Fifthly, Attempting to extend to *America* an obsolete and arbitrary Act of *Henry VIII.* for trial of Treason and Misprisions of Treason, by which the Subject there would be deprived of the fair trial to which he is entitled both by common and statute Law of the Land; and exposed to the most grievous exertions of tyranny and injustice.

Whoever will consider these Grievances, will perceive how impossible it is that any People impressed with the least sense of constitutional Liberty, should ever patiently submit to bear them. Their tendency is too evident; and the total subversion of every right and security derived from that sacred Constitution for which our Ancestors fought and conquered, is too undeniable a consequence of them, to leave any *American* in doubt whether in this case, *Submission and Slavery* are the same.

[28] If the Commerce with *America* is of any value to *Great Britain*; if the Rights of Humanity are interesting; if the Introduction of absolute Government into so great a part of the united empire is dangerous to the liberties of the rest; then I will venture to say, the cause of *America* is the common cause of every friend to Liberty and to Humanity throughout the King's Dominions; and that the People of this Country are moved by every consideration of virtue and of wisdom, to espouse a cause, in the issue of which their feelings as men, their commercial interests, and the Principles of their Constitution, are so deeply concerned.

FINIS.¹

¹ Extract of a Letter, etc., London, 1770, pp. 15-28.

In his letter to Wheelock of August 31, 1761, De Berdt said:

Since I wrote to you I have mett the society and also writ to Scotland to the committee there and they seem resolved to support Mr. Occom's mission £20 a year. and will propose it to the society who meet in Nov. and I hope to gett it allowed from Michaelmas (p. 420, above).

The word printed "writ" was, in the copy of the letter furnished me, spelled "wn't;" but an appeal to Mr. Rugg brought the information that the word is really "writ." In his History of Dartmouth College, Chase remarks:

Mr. De Berdt also, besides being very active in London, made a journey to Scotland, where he obtained in 1761 a direct appropriation from the Scotch society of £20 for Occom (i. 27).

As there is nothing in De Berdt's letters to indicate that he "made a journey to Scotland," it is possible that Chase misread the word commented upon in the letter of August 31, 1761.

